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THE HERODS IN THE OPINION OF CONTEMPORARY WRITERS

A Thesis presented to the  
Faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Sacred Theology

by

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Concordia Seminary,  
May 1, 1940

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## INTRODUCTION

In the New Testament one finds many references to political conditions of the time. Knowledge of these conditions often throws light upon the meaning of passages in the New Testament. This is so generally recognized that practically all commentaries on the New Testament include material taken from secular history. Especially in the understanding of the four Gospels and the Book of Acts are secular references helpful; for the nature of these books is historical.

Palestine was under Roman rule throughout the period covered in the historical books of the New Testament. In 63 A.D. Pompey had led an army into Judea and established the country as part of the Roman empire. The Romans owed much of their success in the Near East to an Idumean ruler, Antipater; therefore they permitted him to serve as their procurator in Syria. (1).

It was the policy of the Roman emperors to interfere with native customs in their provinces no more than was necessary. They usually even left the form of government the same as it had been before -- with this exception, that the government was responsible to Rome and paid tribute to her. Thus it was that the descendants of Antipater, the Herods, were permitted to rule in Palestine. Some of them were even made kings; these were reges socii, vassal kings of the Roman emperor like the kings in the neighboring small countries.

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(1). Josephus: Ant. 14,8,5; B.J. 1,10,3.



The other Herods who ruled were called tetrarchs -- rulers of smaller domains without royal dignity.

Because the Herods were in power in Palestine at the time of Christ and His apostles, there are many references to them in the New Testament historical books. Most of these references record events which emphasize the character of a particular Herod. For this reason a study of the character of the various Herods is of as much importance to an understanding of the New Testament as is the study of events during their reigns. In this paper we have accordingly attempted not only to study the chief events which occurred under each Herod, but also to analyze the character of that particular Herod.

In any historical study the result will depend largely upon the sources used. Other things being equal, material written by the contemporaries of the subject is the most accurate. Especially in a character study is the opinion of a contemporary important; for while much of a person's character can be gleaned from his deeds, still more is learned from a contemporary's statement that the man was of a certain disposition. Therefore in this paper we are using the contemporaries of the Herods as our sources, noting the opinions which they express as well as those which they imply by recording events in a certain light.

The chief sources for study of the Herods are the synoptic Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the works of Flavius Josephus (especially his Antiquities of the Jews, Wars of the Jews, and Life -- designated respectively in



this paper: Ant., B.J., and Vita). Even if we disregard the doctrine of the inspiration of the New Testament, from a historical viewpoint we must consider the Biblical accounts as the most reliable; for their authors lived at the precise time of the Herods we are treating.

Josephus, who supplies most of our information concerning the Herods, was born about 38 A.D. (1); hence he was a contemporary of both Agrippas, and lived a generation after the sons of Herod the Great. For the history of Herod the Great he had the material written by the king's friend and biographer Nicolaus of Damascus (2), who was certainly in a position to know the truth, though not in a position to tell all of it. Josephus relates far less concerning the sons of Herod; for there he had no written account to follow, and had to gather his material from oral accounts and incomplete records. Concerning the Agrippas again Josephus has much detail; for he lived at their time, and consulted with Agrippa II concerning his writings (3). In general Josephus seems to have achieved his aim of telling the truth (4), although he is not without error and entirely free from prejudice; the evidence for this statement will appear in the body of this paper.

Finally, a little light is thrown upon the history of the Herods from the writings of the various historians of

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(1). Ant. 20, 11, 3: his fifty-sixth year was the thirteenth of Domitian's reign, 93 A.D.

(2). Cf. Ant. 14, 1, 3; 16, 7, 1.

(3). Vita 65; Contra Apionem 1, 9.

(4). Cf. Ant. 16, 7, 1; 20, 8, 3.



Rome: Dio Cassius, Plutarch, Strabo, Suetonius, and Tacitus. However, these works are of value chiefly for determining dates, and tell us very little about the character of the Herods.

By drawing especially from the sources mentioned above, we have in this paper attempted to present a true picture of the Herods in the opinion of their contemporaries.

- (1). Ant. 14.8.3; 2.7. 1, 10, 3.
- (2). Herod died in 4 B.C. at about seventy years of age, Ant. 17.2.1.
- (3). Ant. 14.8.3.
- (4). Ant. 14.8.3.
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- (100). Ant. 14.8.3.



## HEROD THE GREAT

Herod the Great is the first of the Herods mentioned in the New Testament. While he was not the founder of Palestinian rule in his family -- his father Antipater had been made procurator of Judea by Julius Caesar (1) --, nevertheless he was the one who brought the family to great prominence, and gave it his name.

Josephus tells us nothing directly about Herod's birth; but incidental references indicate that he was born about 74 B.C. (2). The father Antipater was an Idumean (3), as was also Herod's mother Cypros (4). Since the Idumeans, or Edomites, were descendants of Esau (5), they were related to the Jewish people; for this reason Antigonus calls Herod a "half-Jew" (6). Herod had the Jewish genealogical records destroyed so that there would be no evidence of his non-Jewish descent (7). Plutarch refers to "Herod the Jew" (8), and Strabo calls Herod "a native of the country" of the Jews (9); but these distant writers evidently assumed him to be a Jew because he gave that impression and ruled over the Jewish nation. Herod had three brothers: Phasaël, Joseph, and Pheroras; and one sister, Salome (10).

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- (1). Ant. 14,8,5; B.J. 1,10,3.  
 (2). Herod died in 4 B.C. at about seventy years of age, Ant. 17,6,1.  
 (3). Ant. 14,1,3.  
 (4). Ant. 14,7,3.  
 (5). Gen. 36,9.  
 (6). Ant. 14,15,2; B.J. 1,17,8.  
 (7). Jul. Afric. apud Eus.: Eccl. Hist. 1,7.  
 (8). Parallel Lives, Antony, 61,2; 71,1.  
 (9). Geography 16,2,46.  
 (10). Ant. 14,7,3.



While Herod was still a young man (1) his father committed the rule of Galilee to his care. He soon showed his ability by clearing the country of a band of robbers led by a certain Hezekiah (2). This enhanced his and his father's popularity with the Romans and the common people; but it aroused the jealousy of the leaders of the Jews, who were opposed to Antipater and his sons because they ruled by authority of the Romans. Therefore the Jewish leaders complained to Hyrcanus the high priest that Herod had acted tyrannically by killing the robbers without having them condemned to death by the Sanhedrin (3). Under pressure Hyrcanus finally summoned Herod to appear before the Sanhedrin for trial; but upon his father's advice he took with him a bodyguard to prevent the execution of any unfavorable sentence which the Sanhedrin might pass. In the meantime Sextus Caesar, president of Syria and friend of Herod since the suppression of the robbers who had also overrun Syria, sent word to Hyrcanus that Herod should be acquitted at the trial (4). After the first day's session Hyrcanus saw that the Sanhedrin favored the death sentence for Herod; therefore he delayed the trial, and in the night sent word to Herod to flee. Herod was forced to follow this advice, and thus escaped. But so angry was he, that he bought of Sex-

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(1). Ant. 14,9,2; B.J. 1,10,4. Josephus says Herod was fifteen at this time. But that would place this event ca. 59 B.C., while it occurred shortly before Sextus Caesar's death in 46 B.C.; cf. Keim I, p. 236n. The age of twenty-five fits better.

(2). Ant. 14,9,2; B.J. 1,10,5.

(3). Ant. 14,9,3; B.J. 1,10,6.

(4). Ant. 14,9,4.



tus Caesar the post of general of Coele-Syria and Samaria, and with this power gathered an army to attack Jerusalem (1). Only with difficulty could Antipater and Phasaëlus dissuade him from his vengeful plans. Years later, when Jerusalem was in his power, he took vengeance by killing all the members of the Sanhedrin except one who had spoken in his favor at the trial (2).

Julius Caesar was assassinated on the Ides of March, 44 B.C. One of the murderers, Cassius, came to Syria to raise an army. Herod gained his favor by rapidly exacting Galilee's quota of one hundred talents (about \$10,000); he was rewarded with the procuratorship of Syria, and the promise of regal dignity in the event of Cassius' victory (3). At this time Antipater was poisoned by Malichus; and Herod, with Cassius' assistance, had Malichus assassinated (4). Also at this time the son of Aristobulus, Antigonus, tried to gain the rule in Judea; but Herod routed his supporters and drove him out of Judea. To ingratiate himself with the Jewish people he then became betrothed to Mariamne, granddaughter of Hyrcanus (5).

In 42 B.C. Octavian (Augustus) and Antony gained the Roman supremacy at Philippi, and Antony came to Syria. The Jews sent a delegation to him to complain of the tyranny of Herod; but because of bribes from Herod and memory of how

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- (1). Ant. 14, 9, 5; B.J. 1, 10, 8.
  - (2). Ant. 14, 9, 4.
  - (3). Ant. 14, 11, 4; B.J. 1, 11, 4.
  - (4). Ant. 14, 11, 4-6; B.J. 1, 11, 4-8.
  - (5). Ant. 14, 12, 1; B.J. 1, 12, 3.



Antipater had aided him, Antony made Herod and Phasaël tetrarchs (1).

While Antony was in Egypt with Cleopatra, Antigonus again made an attempt to become ruler of the Jews. He secretly secured the support of the Parthians, who were then overrunning western Asia, by the promise of a large bribe and five hundred women. Herod and Phasaël defeated Antigonus' army and took Jerusalem. Antigonus suggested that the Parthians act as arbitrators to prevent further bloodshed. Herod was too wise to trust the barbarians; but Phasaël and Hyrcanus went to their camp, where they were made prisoners. When Herod received a report of this, he fled from Jerusalem to the fortress Masada with his family and adherents. On the way he was met and assisted by his brother Joseph, whom he left in charge of the fortress while he went to gather an army. In the meantime the Parthians plundered Jerusalem, and Antigonus assumed the rule. Phasaël, in prison, committed suicide by dashing his head against a stone rather than give his enemies the pleasure of killing him; and Antigonus bit off Hyrcanus' ears to prevent him from being high priest any longer (2).

Herod now hastened to the Arabian king Malchus, whom he had often befriended, for aid; when it was refused (3) he went to Egypt and thence set sail to Rome. There he told Antony the story of his misfortunes, and offered him

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(1). Ant. 14, 13, 1; B.J. 1, 12, 5.  
 (2). Ant. 14, 13; B.J. 1, 13.  
 (3). Ant. 14, 14, 1; B.J. 1, 14, 1.



money for royal dignity. Antony, motivated by the bribe as well as by gratitude to Antipater and the consideration that Antigonus was a seditionist, convinced Octavian and the senate at Rome that it would be to the best interests of Roman rule if Herod were made king. Accordingly the senate made him king of Judea in 40 B.C. (1).

Accompanied by a Roman official, Herod now came to claim his kingdom. Marching through Galilee he attracted a large army; he was also granted assistance by the Roman generals Ventidius and Silo, in Syria at the time. His first act was to relieve the relatives that were being besieged in Masada by Antigonus' men; then he laid siege to Jerusalem (2).

While the Roman armies continued this siege, Herod sent his brother Joseph with a small army to secure Idumea. Then he placed his family in Samaria, while he took his own army on a campaign to remove the garrisons of Antigonus from cities in Galilee (3). He took Sepphoris, then defeated the small army of robbers in Galilee at Arbela. The robbers that escaped retired to caves in the Galilean hills. Since a few men could withstand an entire army on the paths leading to these caves, Herod despatched the robbers by letting down his soldiers from above in huge chests (4).

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(1). Ant. 14, 14, 4; B.J. 1, 14, 4. This was three years prior to his taking Jerusalem from Antigonus in 37 B.C., Ant. 14, 15, 14; 17, 8, 1.

(2). Ant. 14, 15, 2; B.J. 1, 15, 4.

(3). Ant. 14, 15, 4; B.J. 1, 16, 1.

(4). Ant. 14, 15, 5; B.J. 1, 16, 4.



Antony at this time was besieging Samosata on the Euphrates. Herod decided to visit him to cement their friendship, as well as to complain about the conduct of Macheras, whom Antony had sent to his assistance with two legions. Macheras begged him not to complain, and became subservient to Herod's wishes; but the king made the visit anyway. On the journey he met many people who wanted to get to Antony, but were afraid of the barbarians on the way. Herod became their leader and overcame these barbarians, thereby becoming confirmed in the favor of Antony. When he returned to Jerusalem Antony sent along two legions for immediate assistance, and turned over his entire army to the general Sosius, to be used in Herod's cause (1).

In the meantime Herod's affairs in Judea had not fared so well. His brother Joseph, in charge during Herod's absence, had been killed in a battle at Jericho; and groups of Antigonus' soldiers had taken many small districts near their stronghold of Jerusalem (2). Herod now regained this lost territory, and settled down for the final siege of Jerusalem. Now while bulwarks were being erected and he was waiting for Sosius to come with his large army, Herod went to Samaria to marry Mariamne (3).

When Sosius arrived the total forces against Antigonus amounted to eleven legions plus their auxiliaries. After a five-month siege the walls were scaled and Jerusalem again

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(1). Ant. 14, 15, 9; B.J. 1, 16, 7.  
 (2). Ant. 14, 15, 10; B.J. 1, 17, 1.2.  
 (3). Ant. 14, 15, 14; B.J. 1, 17, 8.



ran with blood. The Roman soldiers were angry because the defenders had held out so long; therefore they killed all they could, regardless of age or sex. Finally, to prevent complete destruction of his principal city, Herod offered to pay all the soldiers personally if they would cease plundering; only then did he stop the destruction (1). Antigonus was captured and sent away to Antony, who had him flogged and slain (2). This capture of Jerusalem occurred in 37 B.C. (3).

Herod's first acts, now that he was established as king, were acts of cruelty to make his throne safe. He had forty-five of Antigonus' principal adherents killed, and confiscated their wealth (4). He also took the property of other wealthy men to give to his friends. He lured Hyrcanus, who had been carried to Babylon by the Parthians, back to Jerusalem so that he would be able to destroy him (5). Mariamne's mother Alexandra complained that her son Aristobulus should be high priest, so Herod gave him that office; but when Herod saw how popular the beautiful youth was, he had him drowned (6). Alexandra complained about this to Cleopatra, who took the matter to Antony and insisted that Herod be punished (7). Antony,

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(1). Ant. 14,16,2.3; B.J. 1,18,2.3.

(2). Dio Cassius 49,22,5; Ant. 15,1,2; B.J. 1,18,3.

(3). "When Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus were consuls of Rome", Ant. 14,16,4. Cf. Schuerer, Div. I, vol. II, p. 397 n.11 for determination of date from Roman histories. Also cf. Ant. 15,5,2, where Actium (31 B.C.) is in the seventh year of Herod's reign.

(4). Ant. 15,1,2.

(5). Ant. 15,2,3; 15,6,2; B.J. 1,22,1.

(6). Ant. 15,3,3; B.J. 1,22,2.

(7). Ant. 14,3,5.



between two fires, summoned Herod to appear before him at Laodicea. Leaving his public and private affairs in the hands of his uncle Joseph, Herod appeared before Antony with great fear and many presents; the bribe cleared him, and he was permitted to return to Jerusalem (1). Upon his return his sister Salome, who hated Mariamne's snobbishness over her royal Asmonean blood, accused her of immorality with Joseph. This resulted in Joseph's execution (2).

Cleopatra wanted the land of Herod and adjoining sections; but all she could persuade Antony to give her was the coast of Phoenicia with the exception of Tyre and Sidon, and the rich land about Jericho which Herod farmed of her (3). On her return from accompanying Antony in Asia Minor she visited Herod, and he pacified her anger at him with large presents (4).

At this time Antony was preparing for the great battle of Actium in 31 B.C., where he and Octavian (Augustus) were to fight for the imperium. Herod gathered troops to come to Antony's assistance; but he was told instead to punish the Arabians, who had refused to pay their rent to Cleopatra (5). Herod's army defeated the Arabians; but when they were exhausted from the battle, Cleopatra's general Athenio treacherously attacked Herod and rallied the Arabians so that they routed the Jewish army. At this same

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- (1). Ant. 15,3,8.
  - (2). Ant. 15,3,9; B.J. 1,22,5.
  - (3). Ant. 15,4,1.2; B.J. 1,18,5.
  - (4). Ant. 15,4,2; B.J. 1,18,5.
  - (5). Ant. 15,5,1; B.J. 1,19,1.



time a severe earthquake wrought much havoc in Judea, further depressing Herod's men. Ambassadors were sent to the Arabians to sue for peace; but the Arabians killed these men. Now Herod showed his qualities of leadership. In an address to his dispirited army he proved to their satisfaction that God was fighting on their side, and so rallied his men that they defeated the Arabians completely (1).

When Augustus gained supremacy by defeating Antony, Herod was again in a very difficult position; for his friendship and assistance to Antony were well known. He resolved upon a bold move. Going to Rhodes he appeared before Augustus, not as a suppliant begging for his life, but as a great man. He boasted of how he had helped Antony, and thus had proved himself a true friend. Now, he acknowledged, he was defeated with Antony. But if Augustus would give him a chance, he would show that he could prove just as staunch a friend of his (2). Impressed, Augustus not only confirmed Herod in his kingship, but promised him further kindness in the future (3). Antony fled to Egypt; and when Augustus followed thither Herod treated him and his army to such lavish entertainment and provisions, including a gift of eight hundred talents to the emperor, that Augustus said Herod's kingdom was too small for such rich gifts. Therefore upon his return from Egypt Augustus restored to him Jericho, and added Gadara, Hippos, Samaria, Gaza, An-

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(1). Ant. 15, 5, 2-5; B.J. 1, 19, 3-5.  
 (2). Ant. 15, 6, 6; B.J. 1, 20, 1.  
 (3). Ant. 15, 6, 7; B.J. 1, 20, 2.



thodon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower (later Caesarea) to his realm (1).

When Herod left to appear before Augustus, he gave orders to a certain Sohemus that, if he should be killed by the emperor, Sohemus should kill Mariamne so that no one else might have her. Previously he had given this same order to his uncle Joseph, and had considered disclosure of the command to Mariamne as proof of adultery with her. Now Sohemus, thinking that Herod would not return, also told Mariamne of the command given to him. This caused her to hate Herod; and when he later discovered the cause of this hatred, he accused both Sohemus and Mariamne of adultery and had them put to death (2).

Herod missed his beloved wife Mariamne very much; and when "distemper" was added to his grief, he became so ill that Alexandra thought he would die; therefore she began to plot to obtain the rule. For this she suffered the same fate that had been administered to her innocent daughter Mariamne (3). Also some of Herod's intimate friends: Costobar, Lysimachus, Gadias, and Dositheus, were executed for having preserved alive the Asmonean sons of Babas (4). These Asmoneans, as possible aspirants to the throne, were also slain (5).

At about this time in his career Herod introduced Ro-

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- (1). Ant. 15,7,3; B.J. 1,20,3.
  - (2). Ant. 15,7,4; B.J. 1,22,5.
  - (3). Ant. 15,7,8.
  - (4). Ant. 15,7,8.
  - (5). Ant. 15,7,10. This was twelve years after the death of Antigonus, hence 25 B.C.



man games by building a theatre at Jerusalem and a great amphitheatre in the plain (1). The Jews considered this contrary to their laws; especially the idea of throwing people to beasts for sport, and the ornamental gold and silver trophies which the people regarded as images, were offensive to them. This led to a conspiracy of ten men, who swore to each other that they would face any danger in an attempt to assassinate Herod. However, the king's omnipresent spies reported this plot, and Herod had the conspirators seized. They boldly admitted the plot, and were tortured to death (2).

Throughout his reign Herod did much building. Here Josephus inserts the building of the walls of Samaria, which was renamed Sebaste (3), the rebuilding of the temple fortress Antonia, and the erection of Gaba in Galilee and Hesebonitis in Perea (4). But just after Herod had spent much money on these cities a severe famine struck his realm, so that the people were in danger of starving.(5). To save his people Herod sold the silver and gold furniture of his palace, and purchased corn from Egypt to distribute to his subjects. This, more than anything else that he did, helped to reconcile the Jews to him. During this golden age of his regime Herod also built a beautiful palace in Jerusalem, naming its two apartments: Caesar's and Agrippa's; built

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(1). Ant. 15,8,1.

(2). Ant. 15,8,4.

(3). The Greek equivalent of "Augustus".

(4). Ant. 15,8,5; B.J. 1,21,2.

(5). Ant. 15,9,1. In the thirteenth year of his reign, 25/24 B.C.



temples outside of Judea (1); rebuilt Strato's Tower with a wonderful harbor, and named it Caesarea (2); sent his sons by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, to Rome for their education (3); was granted Trachon, Batanea, Auranitis, and the territory of Zenodorus (4); was made a procurator of Syria (5); and dedicated a magnificent temple to Caesar at Panium, source of the Jordan (6). Among other large projects which he undertook we find the inauguration of Roman games at Caesarea (7); the building of cities which he named after his family: Antipatris, Cypros, and Phasaelis (8); and assistance to foreign cities which were building (9). It seems that he also went to great expense to strengthen the fortresses of Machaerus (10) and Masada (11).

One of the outstanding events of Herod's period was the rebuilding of the temple (12). This work was begun in the eighteenth year of Herod's reign, 20/19 B.C. (13). The Jews were at first unwilling to permit this, fearing that Herod would leave the work incomplete; but the king made

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- (1). Ant. 15,9,5.  
 (2). Ant. 15,9,6; B.J. 1,21,5.  
 (3). Ant. 15,10,1.  
 (4). Ant. 15,10,1; B.J. 1,21,1. The territory of Zenodorus "lay between Trachon and Galilee, and contained Ula-tha, and Paneas, and the country round about," Ant. 15,10,3.  
 (5). Ant. 15,10,3.  
 (6). Ant. 15,10,3; B.J. 1,21,3.  
 (7). Ant. 16,5,1.  
 (8). Ant. 16,5,2; B.J. 1,21,9.  
 (9). Ant. 16,5,3; B.J. 1,21,11.  
 (10). B.J. 7,6,2.  
 (11). B.J. 7,8,3.  
 (12). Ant. 15,11; B.J. 1,21,3.  
 (13). Ant. 15,11,1. In B.J. 1,21,1 Josephus says the fifteenth year, which probably was the time when preparations were begun. Cf. Schuerer, Div. I, vol. II, p. 410 n.12.



all the preparations before any damage was done to the old building. He even had a thousand of the priests taught the trades of stone-cutters and carpenters, so that they might assist the ten thousand skilled workmen that were employed (1). The completion of the building, after nine and one-half years (2), was celebrated on the anniversary of Herod's inauguration.

During the temple-building Herod decided to visit his sons in Rome, and also the emperor. Therefore he made the trip, and brought Alexander and Aristobulus back to Jerusalem with him (3). This precipitated further domestic difficulties in the Herodian family. Salome and her friends, envious of the popularity of these young men with the people, were fearful lest these sons should have them brought to justice for the death of their mother Mariamne. Therefore they began a whispering campaign that Alexander and Aristobulus hated their father for the murder of their mother. For the time this had little effect upon Herod; but later it was to lead to the execution of the two brothers (4).

The family dispute was interrupted by a visit to Asia Minor of Marcus Agrippa, Augustus' great statesman. Herod invited him to Jerusalem, showed him the magnificent public works, entertained him lavishly, and sent him away with

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(1). Ant. 15, 11, 2.

(2). Ant. 15, 11, 5.6. It is not clear whether the one and one-half years for building the temple proper are to be included in the eight years, or added to them.

(3). Ant. 16, 1, 2. Schuerer, Div. I, vol. II, p. 410 dates this visit in 18 or 17 B.C., showing that only from 19-16 during this period was Augustus in Rome.

(4). Ant. 16, 11, 7; B.J. 1, 27, 6.



many presents (1). The next spring Herod returned the visit by sailing to Synope in Pontus, where he met Agrippa, and accompanied him on his travels through Asia Minor (2).

During this brief absence of Herod the family friction increased. Salome and Pheroras accused the sons of Mariamne of hating their father, while they replied with assertions of Mariamne's innocence. When the king returned, his brother and sister told him that he was in danger of his life because of a plot that these two sons intended to carry out with the aid of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia and Alexander's father-in-law (3). Herod decided to instil humility into these young men by restoring to the court his oldest son by Doris, who had been born before Herod became king (4). This son, Antipater, was very shrewd. He flattered Herod, and had Herod's friends calumniate the sons of Mariamne. The result of this was that Doris was brought back as Herod's wife, and Antipater was made heir to the throne in Herod's will and sent with Agrippa to Rome with royal honors, there to become a friend of Augustus (5).

While in Rome Antipater continued to alienate Herod from the other sons by false reports in his letters. Finally Herod decided to bring the matter before Augustus for a hearing (6). At the trial Herod told at length how generous he had been to these sons, but how ungrateful they

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- (1). Ant. 16, 2, 1.  
 (2). Ant. 16, 2, 2-4.  
 (3). Ant. 16, 3, 2; B.J. 1, 23, 1.  
 (4). Ant. 16, 3, 3; B.J. 1, 23, 1.  
 (5). Ant. 16, 3, 3; B.J. 1, 23, 1.  
 (6). Ant. 16, 4, 1; B.J. 1, 23, 3.



had been in return. Then Alexander skilfully defended himself against the accusations, which could not be proved. Augustus, wiser and less suspicious than Herod, declared that the sons were innocent of plotting, but that they should be more careful in their behavior; he also rebuked Herod for being suspicious without grounds (1). Then when the sons attempted to fall down before their father, he took them up and embraced them, and thanked Augustus for effecting the reconciliation. Herod showed his gratitude by giving Augustus three hundred talents; and the emperor reciprocated by giving Herod a half interest in the copper mines of Cyprus, and the privilege of appointing successors in his family as he should see fit (2). Then the reunited family returned to Jerusalem, accompanied by the hypocritical Antipater, who feigned joy over the reconciliation. At a public gathering in the temple Herod told the people about his trip and its results, appointed respectively as his successors Antipater, Alexander, and Aristobulus, and bestowed royal honors upon all three of them (3).

But this did not settle the quarrel; it broke out anew -- according to Josephus, as divine punishment upon Herod for plundering David's tomb one night (4). Again Antipater, Pheroras, and Salome spread rumors to arouse Herod's suspicions. One of these was that Alexander had bribed the king's eunuchs. These men were now tortured severely, and

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(1). Ant. 16, 4, 4.  
 (2). Ant. 16, 4, 5.  
 (3). Ant. 16, 4, 6; B.J. 1, 23, 5.  
 (4). Ant. 16, 7, 1.



one of them said that Alexander expected Herod to die soon, and was making preparations to take over the rule (1). Now Herod began a reign of terror in the royal household; he placed spies everywhere, and had servants and friends of his sons tortured to death, to obtain evidence of a plot. At length one of these victims of torture said that Alexander and Aristobulus intended to kill Herod while hunting and flee to Rome. Alexander was saved only by the intervention of his father-in-law and Herod's good friend Archelaus. This king feigned great anger at Alexander, said Herod had been too lenient with him, and spoke of having his daughter divorce the wicked man. Herod's fatherly instinct now came out, and he defended Alexander in an attempt to "placate" Archelaus. This resulted in another reconciliation between Herod and Alexander (2).

No sooner did Herod have outward peace in his family than political trouble broke out. A group of about a thousand robbers terrorized Trachonitis and Coele-Syria; but when Herod wished to punish them, they were given refuge in Arabia by Sylleus (3). Furthermore, Herod had lent the Arabians sixty talents, which they refused to repay. Herod spoke of this matter to the presidents of Syria, gaining their permission to raid the robbers' stronghold in Arabia. While he was demolishing their garrison, some Arabians came to the assistance of the robbers; and about twenty of the

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(1). Ant. 16, 8, 1.

(2). Ant. 16, 8, 6; B.J. 1, 25.

(3). Ant. 16, 9, 1.



Arabians were killed. Sylleus, in Rome at the time, told Augustus that Herod had marched into his country and killed a large number of his subjects. Augustus wrote to Herod, rebuking him, and would not permit his ambassadors to present a defense (1).

While Herod was thus in deep disgrace with Augustus, a Spartan named Eurycles renewed the family quarrel. He feigned friendship to both Antipater and Alexander, and thus gained their confidence; but when one of these would confide in him, he would sell the information to the other. Antipater bribed him highly, and thus persuaded him to make charges to Herod that Alexander was again plotting (2). At the same time Antipater had two bodyguards of Herod tortured until they admitted that they had been asked by Alexander to kill Herod while hunting so that the death would appear as an accident. Another soldier was tortured until his son produced a damaging note which was said to be Alexander's, but which Alexander claimed was forged (3). Now Alexander and Aristobulus were again imprisoned, and Herod sent word of the matter to Augustus. By this time Herod's friend and advocate Nicolaus of Damascus had reconciled Augustus to the king by showing the falsehood of Sylleus' charges. Augustus was on the verge of giving Arabia to Herod; but when he now heard of the renewed domestic difficulty, he decided that Herod had enough affairs to keep him busy (4).

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(1). Ant. 16,9,2.

(2). Ant. 16,10,1.2; B.J. 1,26,1-3.

(3). Ant. 16,10,4.

(4). Ant. 16,10,9.



The emperor then wrote to Herod that he should give his sons a trial at Berytus in the presence of Roman officials. The trial was held, Herod exaggerating the evidence and not even permitting his sons to be present for a defense. The majority of judges voted the death sentence (1). A little later Herod had Alexander and Aristobulus brought to Sebaste (Samaria) and strangled to death (2). At about the same time almost three hundred officers of Herod's army were executed for alleged plotting with Mariamne's sons (3).

Now Antipater was in high esteem at the court, even helping Herod to rule. But still he was not satisfied. The children of his half-brothers were treated favorably by Herod, who had a guilty conscience over their fathers' death (4). Antipater feared that they, who were popular with the mob while he was hated, might succeed Herod. Therefore he began plotting that he might receive the rule soon. The women of the court were also involved in the machinations. Some Pharisees who prophesied that Herod's posterity would not succeed him were put to death, along with other suspicious characters (5). Antipater feared that Herod might find out his guilt in these matters; so he sent letters to friends in Rome, requesting them to ask Herod to send Antipater to Caesar. Thus Antipater went to Rome to avoid

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(1). Ant. 16, 11, 3; B.J. 1, 27, 3. Schuerer (Div. I, vol. II, p. 415 n.18) places this trial in 7 B.C.; for Saturninus, one of the judges, left Syria in 6 B.C.

(2). Ant. 16, 11, 7; B.J. 1, 27, 6.

(3). Ant. 16, 11, 7.

(4). Ant. 17, 1, 2; B.J. 1, 28, 1-3.

(5). Ant. 17, 2, 4.



suspicion (1). He took with him Herod's will, in which the succession fell first upon him, and then upon Herod, the son of Mariamne the High priest's daughter. Also at this time four Arabians who had plotted against Herod's life were sent to Rome (2).

It must have been about this time that the Wise Men came from the East to ask Herod where was the new-born king of the Jews (3). From the historical background of Herod's life we can easily see why "Herod the king . . . . was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him". The people knew that any suspicion of a new king would occasion bloodshed. Nor were these fears groundless; for when the Wise Men evaded Herod on their return, he had all the children in Bethlehem and its vicinity slain, to be sure that he would destroy this new "menace" to his throne.

Pheroras also fell into disgrace with Herod after Antipater left, and was banished from the court; however, when he became ill Herod visited him, and showed strong affection toward this brother. But the illness was fatal, and Pheroras died. Shortly after his death two of his freedmen told Herod that he had been poisoned, and asked

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(1). Ant. 17,3,2; B.J. 1,29,2.

(2). Ant. 17,3,2; B.J. 1,29,3.

(3). Matt. 2. Josephus mentions nothing of the slaughter of the infants, probably because his chief source -- Herod's Commentaries, written by the prejudiced Nicolaus of Damascus -- omitted this atrocity. - Since Herod had all children under two years of age slain, we may assume that Jesus was almost two years old at that time. If Jesus was born 7 B.C. (cf. P.E. Kretzmann: THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF A BELIEVER'S RESEARCH, p. 54ff.), this slaughter would occur in 5 B.C. Cf. also Ewald, V, p. 139n.



that the matter be investigated (1). Herod then had some of Pheroras' female servants tortured, who confessed Antipater's entire plot against Herod. This confirmed testimony that Salome had previously given Herod, but which he had disregarded. Now Herod had Antipater's steward tortured; he told Herod that Antipater had given Pheroras some poison destined for the king. Pheroras' wife was sent for to explain this. She attempted suicide, but did not die. Then she told Herod of the plot; and how Pheroras, touched by Herod's kindness during his last illness, had asked her to pour out the poison. She also showed him a small amount that she had kept, for suicide in case of emergency. Herod was now convinced, and divorced Mariamne the high priest's daughter because she had knowledge of the plot. A little later Antipater's freedman came from Rome. When tortured he produced some more poison which he had brought along in case the first dose should fail; he also had letters that showed how Antipater was plotting against some of his other half-brothers.

Antipater in Rome knew nothing of these developments. Therefore, when Herod sent for him to come home, he came without suspicion. At the trial, conducted by the president of Syria, Quintilius Varus at that time, a condemned prisoner drank the poison which Antipater had prepared and died on the spot. Then Antipater was held guilty, and put in prison till Augustus might be consulted (2).

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(1). Ant. 17,4; B.J. 1,30; 1,31,1.2.  
 (2). Ant. 17,5; B.J. 1,32.



Now Herod became a victim of that disease which was soon to cost him his life. He made another will, in which he bequeathed the kingdom to Antipas (1). But when the people discovered that Herod was incurably ill, some of the Jewish teachers urged their scholars to tear down a golden eagle which the king had placed above one of the temple entrances (2). For this act Herod had the leaders burnt alive; and as he had often done before, he removed the high priest from office (3).

Herod's disease became worse; dropsy set in, putrefaction "that produced worms", and other complications. Herod knew that he would soon die. He also knew that the Jews would not mourn him. Therefore he called all the principal men of the Jews to him, and had them shut up in the hippodrome. Orders were given to Salome to have the soldiers execute these prisoners when he died, so that there would be mourning upon his death (4). A little later his pain became so severe that he attempted suicide with a paring knife (5). Antipater heard of this and thought his father was dead; therefore he offered the jailer a large bribe to release him. When this was reported to Herod, he had Antipater executed immediately (6).

Again Herod changed his will, leaving the kingdom to Archelaus; the tetrarchy of Galilee and Perea to Antipas;

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- (1). Ant. 17, 6, 1; B.J. 1, 32, 7.
  - (2). Ant. 17, 6, 2.3; B.J. 1, 33, 3.
  - (3). Ant. 17, 6, 4; B.J. 1, 33, 4.
  - (4). Ant. 17, 6, 5; B.J. 1, 33, 6.
  - (5). Ant. 17, 7, 1; B.J. 1, 33, 7.
  - (6). Ant. 17, 7, 1; B.J. 1, 33, 7.



the tetrarchy of Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and Paneas to Philip; and Jamnia, Ashdod, and Phasaelis to his sister Salome (1). Then, five days after he had killed Antipater, he died (2). Salome and her husband immediately released the men imprisoned in the hippodrome, to prevent their execution by the soldiers (3). Then Archelaus gave the body a magnificent funeral, and took over the government until Caesar should confirm Herod's final will (4).

When we review Herod's life as recorded by his contemporaries, we gain a rather complete picture of the character of Herod. In the following section we shall attempt to analyze Herod the Great, noting especially how the New Testament picture agrees with that of secular history.

Matthew (5) presents Herod as very suspicious. When he heard that a new king was born, he immediately gave his attention to the matter. He did not inquire concerning the kind of king, and whether or not this king would interfere

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(1). Ant. 17,8,1; B.J. 1,33,7.

(2). Ant. 17,8,1; B.J. 1,33,8. Schuerer (Div. I, vol. II, p. 464 n.165) gives the following data for determining the time of his death, between the first and fourteenth of Nisan, 4 B.C.: The death occurred shortly before a Passover, hence in March or April (Ant. 17,9,3; B.J. 2,1,3). This is given by Josephus as 37 years after his appointment as king, 34 after his taking of Jerusalem; but Josephus always reckons from Nisan to Nisan, counting parts of a year as a whole year. Hence he counts one year too many, and the death is between Nisan 1 and 14. - This is substantiated by the eclipse of the moon shortly before his death (Ant. 17,6,4), which occurred on the night of March 12, 4 B.C.; and by the chronologies of Archelaus and Antipas, by figuring back from the years in which they were deposed.

(3). Ant. 17,8,2; B.J. 1,33,8.

(4). Ant. 17,8,3.4; B.J. 1,33,9; 2,1,1.

(5). Chapter 2.



with his ambition; his only conclusion is that this king is a menace to the throne, and as such must be destroyed. We gain this same picture of Herod from Josephus. Herod had spies among the people, to report any plots that might arise (1). He even placed spies among the members of his household when he suspected treason there (2). He built a secret passage from Fort Antonia to the inner temple, to prevent plots from hatching there (3). Whenever he had the least reason to suspect someone -- even when he had no reason, just a false report -- many people were tortured upon the rack to supply condemnatory evidence (4). Even Augustus told Herod that he was too suspicious concerning his sons (5).

Coupled with this suspicion we find craftiness and deceit. Herod told the Magi: "Go and search diligently for the young child; and when ye have found him, bring me word again, that I may come and worship him also" (6). He played the part of a sincere friend by directing them to Bethlehem. Yet, as the sequel shows, instead of worshiping Jesus he intended to kill Him. Many times before had Herod, successfully, acted the hypocrite. When Malichus poisoned his father Antipater, Herod acted as though he entertained no suspicions, although at the time he was arranging for Malichus' assassination (7). He lured Hyrcanus out of safety

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- (1). Ant. 15, 10, 4.
  - (2). Ant. 16, 7, 2.
  - (3). Ant. 15, 11, 7.
  - (4). Ant. 15, 7, 4; 16, 8, 1; 16, 8, 4 et al.
  - (5). Ant. 16, 4, 4.
  - (6). Matt. 2, 8.
  - (7). Ant. 14, 11, 4; B.J. 1, 11, 5.



in Parthia into his hands by a promise of royal authority (1). He made Aristobulus high priest, and played with him while his Galls "accidentally" drowned him in a swimming pool (2); then he feigned great mourning at the death, and gave the victim a magnificent funeral (3). He contemplated killing Cleopatra, whom he hated, while she was at his court; but since his counselors convinced him that this would cause trouble with Antony, he was friendly to her and gave her large presents (4). When he discovered Antipater's plot while that son was in Rome, he kept the discovery from reaching him; and he wrote a letter containing assurances of his affections, urging Antipater to come home for his own good (5). These references show that treachery was often used by Herod the Great.

When Herod found out that the Wise Men had not returned to him, he slew all of the children under two years in Bethlehem and its vicinity (6). This sounds too horrible to be true to modern ears; but the history of Herod by other contemporaries shows that he often performed similar acts. The policy of punishing many innocent rather than to have one guilty person escape, was followed upon other occasions. Josephus tells us that on one occasion Herod "had many innocent persons led to the torture, out of his fear lest he

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- (1). Ant. 15, 2, 3.
  - (2). Ant. 15, 3, 2; B.J. 1, 22, 2.
  - (3). Ant. 15, 3, 4.
  - (4). Ant. 15, 4, 2; B.J. 1, 18, 5.
  - (5). Ant. 17, 5, 1; B.J. 1, 31, 3.
  - (6). Matt. 2, 16.



should leave any guilty person untortured (1). Furthermore, there is abundance of evidence that Herod had no qualms about putting suspected enemies to death. In his own family he executed his brother-in-law Aristobulus (2), his uncle Joseph (3), his wife's grandfather Hyrcanus (4), his wife Mariamne (5), his mother-in-law Alexandra (6), his sons Alexander and Aristobulus (7), and the scheming son Antipater (8). Other victims of his wrath were Malichus (9), forty-five of Antigonus' adherents (10), Antigonus himself (11), Sohemus (12), Costobarus, Lysimachus, Gadias, and Dositheus (13), the Asmonean sons of Babas (14), suspicious characters among the people reported by his spies (15), ten Jews who plotted against his life (16), suspected servants in his household (17), 300 officers of the army (18), many of the Pharisees (19), and the leaders of the revolt to tear down the golden eagle from the temple (20). It is true

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- (1). B.J. 1,30,4.  
 (2). Ant. 15,3,3; B.J. 1,22,2.  
 (3). Ant. 15,3,9; B.J. 1,22,5.  
 (4). Ant. 15,6,3; B.J. 1,22,1.  
 (5). Ant. 15,7,4; B.J. 1,22,5.  
 (6). Ant. 15,7,8.  
 (7). Ant. 16,11,7; B.J. 1,27,6.  
 (8). Ant. 17,7,1; B.J. 1,33,7.  
 (9). Ant. 14,11,7; B.J. 1,11,8.  
 (10). Ant. 15,1,2.  
 (11). Ant. 15,3,3; B.J. 1,18,3. Herod sent him to Caesar for execution, Dio Cassius 49,22,5.  
 (12). Ant. 15,7,4.  
 (13). Ant. 15,7,8.  
 (14). Ant. 15,7,10.  
 (15). Ant. 15,10,4.  
 (16). Ant. 15,8,4.  
 (17). Ant. 16,8,2; B.J. 1,24,8.  
 (18). Ant. 16,11,7.  
 (19). Ant. 17,2,4.  
 (20). Ant. 17,6,4; B.J. 1,33,4.



that some of these deserved death by their intrigues; but it is equally true that many of them were innocent victims of suspicion. That guilt was not necessary is shown by Herod's diabolical order to slay the principal Jews upon his death so that people would mourn when he died (1). One of the posthumous complaints raised by the Jews against Herod was his tyranny and cruelty (2). In recording his death Josephus states: "A man he was of great barbarity towards all men equally, and a slave to his passion; but above the consideration of what was right" (3). The same historian calls the strangling of Herod's sons "the action of a murderous mind" (4). Josephus' most complete sketch of Herod's character (5) contains this statement: "When any one looks upon the punishments he inflicted, and the injuries he did, not only to his subjects, but to his nearest relations, and takes notice of his severe and unrelenting disposition there, he will be forced to allow that he was brutish, and a stranger to all humanity". Even Strabo says of Herod: "He put to death some of his son on the pretext of their having conspired against him" (6). Augustus is reported to have said: "It is better to be one of Herod's swine than his son" (7).

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(1). Ant. 17,6,5; B.J. 1,33,6. Josephus calls this "a command which savored of no humanity", Ant. 17,6,6.

(2). Ant. 17,11,2; B.J. 2,6,2: "most barbarous of all tyrants".

(3). Ant. 7,8,1.

(4). Ant. 16,11,8.

(5). Ant. 16,5,4.

(6). Geography 16,2,46.

(7). Macrob. Saturnal. 2,4 apud Keim I, p. 250 n.2.



Another way in which Herod's tyranny showed itself was the high-handed procedure that he used to extort money from the people. The lavish expenditures and frequent bribes of Herod required much wealth. When he first took Jerusalem he confiscated the property of all the wealthy men (1). Later he secretly entered David's tomb and took what wealth he could find there (2). After his death the Jews complained to Augustus about the excessive taxation, and the bribes they were required to give to Herod and his friends (3).

The New Testament mentions nothing about the wives of Herod the Great; but from the moral laxity of his son Antipas (4) one might conclude that the father was not a paragon of chastity. This conclusion is borne out by Josephus. Herod had ten wives: Doris, Mariamne the Asmonean, Mariamne the high priest's daughter, his brother's daughter, his sister's daughter, Malthace the Samaritan, Cleopatra of Jerusalem, Pallas, Phedra, and Elpis (5). Nine of these (the exception is the previously-executed Mariamne) lived with him at the same time. It is true that we have no record of Herod abusing women; but this was not prompted by purity on his part. When he refused Cleopatra's indecent desire it was because of his hatred of her and his fear of Antony (6); when he married the

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- (1). Ant. 15, 1, 2.
  - (2). Ant. 16, 7, 5.
  - (3). Ant. 17, 11, 5.
  - (4). Matt. 14, 3; Mark 6, 17; Luke 3, 19.
  - (5). Ant. 17, 1, 3; 18, 5, 4; B. J. 1, 28, 4.
  - (6). Ant. 15, 4, 2.



daughter of the high priest instead of ravishing her, it was because he knew the people would not permit the latter (1). In the posthumous complaint against Herod there is a reference made by the Jews to "the corruption of the chastity of their virgins, and the reproach laid on their wives for incontinency, and those things acted after an insolent and inhuman manner" (2). If Herod is not the one guilty of these practises, at least he is the one responsible for such conditions; else why would the Jews include this in their complaint against Herod?

Instead of respecting the religion of the Jews and living according to it, Herod considered religion only a political tool. At times he observed what Jewish law required, to gain the favor of his subjects. Thus he offered sacrifices to God before the battle with the Arabians (3), and at the dedication of the temple (4). He did not enter where not permitted during the temple building (5). He had Levites instructed in masonry and carpentry so that they could work where laymen were forbidden (6). But on the other hand he shows very plainly that he was not sincere in matters of religion. He seems to have sacrificed in Rome with Antony and Augustus after being made king (7). He introduced unlawful games into

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(1). Ant. 15,9,3.

(2). Ant. 17,11,2. This cannot refer to Herod's ten wives, for the Jews mentioned that they did not wish to reveal the names of the women involved.

(3). Ant. 15,5,4; B.J. 1,19,5.

(4). Ant. 15,11,6.

(5). Ant. 15,11,5.

(6). Ant. 15,11,2.

(7). Ant. 14,14,5; B.J. 1,14,4.



Jerusalem (1). He frequently deposed the high priest, who was supposed to be appointed for life; his appointees were Ananelus (2), Aristobulus (3), Jesus (4), Simon (5), Matthias (6), and Joazar (7). He enslaved thieves and sold them to foreigners, while Jewish law forbade slavery to foreigners (8). He erected heathen temples outside of Judea (9). In the theatre he placed many images (10), although he knew the attitude of the Jews toward "graven images"; he even placed a golden eagle on an entrance to the temple (11).

The reason for many of these actions contrary to the Jewish religion was Herod's attempt to ingratiate himself with the Romans. This was a policy which he had learned from his father Antipater, and carried out throughout his career. He often bribed Roman officials, especially Antony (12). He furnished an immense amount of assistance to Augustus' army on the way to Egypt (13). He named cities and buildings after the leading Romans: Caesarea, Fort Antonia, Sebaste, the palace apartments called "Caesar's and Agrippa's", etc. He introduced Roman games into

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- (1). Ant. 15, 8, 1.  
 (2). Ant. 15, 2, 4.  
 (3). Ant. 15, 3, 1.  
 (4). Ant. 15, 9, 3.  
 (5). Ant. 15, 9, 3. Elevated to high priesthood so that Herod could marry his daughter.  
 (6). Ant. 17, 4, 2.  
 (7). Ant. 17, 6, 2.  
 (8). Ant. 16, 1, 1.  
 (9). Ant. 15, 9, 5; 16, 5, 3; B.J. 1, 21, 4.  
 (10). Ant. 15, 8, 2.  
 (11). Ant. 17, 6, 2.  
 (12). Ant. 14, 12, 2; 16, 2, 2.  
 (13). Ant. 15, 6, 7; B.J. 1, 20, 3.



Caesarea on a large scale (1). He was extremely careful to report to the Romans on almost every move he made. From this we see that, instead of having the welfare of his subjects at heart, Herod was concerned only with his own ambition, which depended upon the favor of Rome.

The picture of Herod the Great thus far is entirely unfavorable; but in fairness to our subject we must also mention his good qualities, few as they are. Herod was very able as a soldier. This is apparent from almost all his battles; he seldom lost, and when his allies were in danger of defeat his arrival would usually turn the tide. Of his ability as a soldier Josephus says (2):

He was also such a warrior as could not be withstood; many men, therefore, there are who have stood amazed at his readiness in his exercises, when they saw him throw the javelin directly forward, and shoot the arrow upon the mark. And then, besides these performances of his depending on his own strength of mind and body, fortune was also very favorable to him; for he seldom failed of success in his wars; and when he failed, he was not himself the occasion of such failings, but he either was betrayed by some, or the rashness of his own soldiers procured his defeat.

One of the reasons for Herod's success as a soldier was his ability as a practical psychologist. All of his speeches to soldiers or to the mob show that he could bring out his point very clearly and convincingly. This is especially evident in his address to the army during the Arabian war, when his speech rallied his discouraged men

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(1). Ant. 16, 5, 1.  
(2). B.J. 1, 21, 13.



to victory (1). When he was accused before Antony (2), and later before Augustus (3), his knowledge of men enabled him not only to clear himself of charges, but to come away with additional marks of favor.

We have already seen how Herod rebuilt the temple, and erected many cities inside and outside his realm (p. 15). This building may be counted to his credit, although his purpose, according to Josephus, was to magnify himself (4). Also there are a few instances of kindness on the part of Herod, mostly in the beginning of his reign. Once he obtained the release of some of his accusers whom Antony intended to kill (5). When Jerusalem was taken from Antigonus, Herod stopped the ruthless slaughter and plundering by paying the Roman soldiers from his own resources (6). Perhaps the most outstanding benevolence of Herod is the selling of palace furniture to buy food for the people during the severe famine (7). Twice he relinquished part of the heavy taxes (8); and in Ionia he pleaded the cause of mistreated Jews with Agrippa (9). But these few instances of humanitarianism are far outweighed by his evil deed, and even they seem to spring from the selfish purpose of gaining favor.

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- (1). Ant. 15, 5, 3.
  - (2). Ant. 15, 3, 8.
  - (3). Ant. 15, 6, 6.
  - (4). Ant. 16, 5, 4.
  - (5). Ant. 14, 13, 1.
  - (6). Ant. 14, 16, 3.
  - (7). Ant. 15, 9, 2.
  - (8). Ant. 15, 10, 4; 16, 2, 4.
  - (9). Ant. 16, 2, 3.



# ARCHELAUS

Archelaus and Antipas were Herod's sons by Malthace the Samaritan (1). They were brought up in Rome by a friend of Herod's (2), so that they might receive a Roman education, and make friends with the men in authority. When Herod died he left the kingdom to Archelaus in his last will (3); therefore the soldiers and their leaders immediately promised him their services (4). Archelaus took charge of the funeral of his father, making it a magnificent display (5). After the appointed seven days of mourning Archelaus went to the temple where he addressed the people. He thanked them for their acclamations and praise, but said that he would not yet accept the diadem, which the army urged him to wear, because Augustus had not yet confirmed Herod's will (6). Then the people asked that he lessen their taxes, and release many of Herod's prisoners (7). He acceded to gain their favor, and then offered sacrifices to God.

When the mob saw that Archelaus gave in to these demands, they asked that the counselors of Herod responsible for the death of the Jews who had torn down the golden eagle be punished, and that the impious Joazar be removed from

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(1). Ant. 17, 1, 3; B.J. 1, 28, 4.

(2). Ant. 17, 1, 3.

(3). Ant. 17, 8, 1; B.J. 1, 33, 8.

(4). Ant. 17, 8, 2; B.J. 1, 33, 9.

(5). Ant. 17, 8, 3; B.J. 1, 33, 9.

(6). Ant. 17, 8, 4; B.J. 2, 1, 1.

(7). Ant. 17, 8, 4; B.J. 2, 1, 2.



the high priesthood (1). Archelaus did not wish to settle this matter immediately, since he was in a hurry to go to Rome for Caesar's approval; therefore he sent his general to tell the people that the punishment of the seditionists had been legal, and that he could not act upon the matter until he had seen Augustus. But the people threw stones at the general, and would not permit him to speak. They accorded this same treatment to others whom Archelaus sent to speak to them (2). When the Passover arrived, with its multitudes in Jerusalem, a large group of men in the temple began to mourn the teachers of the law whom Herod had slain. Archelaus feared that a sedition would spread in the crowd; therefore he sent a thousand soldiers to bring the leaders of the disturbance to him. When the soldiers came to the temple, they were stoned by the mob and forced to flee. Now Archelaus sent his whole army against them, and three thousand of the people were killed, while the rest fled to the mountains (3).

Soon after this Archelaus sailed to Rome to receive his kingdom (4). He left his affairs in charge of his half-brother Philip, and took with him many friends, as well as his aunt Salome and other relatives (5). Antipas also

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(1). Ant. 17,9,1; B.J. 2,1,2.

(2). Ant. 17,9,2; B.J. 2,1,3.

(3). Ant. 17,9,3; B.J. 2,1,3.

(4). Schuerer (Div. I, vol. II, p. 6 n.10) remarks that Jesus evidently alluded to this trip in the parable of the pounds, Luke 19,12ff. Cf. especially v. 14: "But his citizens hated him and sent a message after him, saying, We will not have this man to reign over us". Archelaus' subjects did this very thing later.

(5). Ant. 17,9,3; B.J. 2,2,1.



sailed to Rome, and took along his supporters; for he intended to dispute Archelaus' claims, and seek the kingdom for himself. The relatives of these two brothers, out of hatred to Archelaus, sided with Antipas; but they preferred direct rule under a Roman governor to either of these Herods (1). Sabinus, procurator of Syria, also preferred Antipas in letters to Augustus.

The emperor decided to hold a hearing to see who should be made king. First the opposition to Archelaus was presented in a speech by Salome's son Antipater, substantiated by witnesses. This Antipater stressed two points: 1. That Archelaus had already usurped royal authority by sitting on the throne, by making concessions to the people, and especially by slaying the three thousand at the sacrifices. 2. That Herod was ill and not of sound mind when he made his last will, appointing Archelaus king; but when he was well he had made a will in which Antipas was given the kingdom (2). Then Nicolaus took the floor for Archelaus, stating that the slaughter of the people was their own fault, for they had become seditionists against Caesar; and that Herod was of sound mind when he made his last will, for in it he left the final determination of a successor up to Augustus (3). The hearing ended, Augustus announced that Archelaus was worthy to succeed his father; but a final dis-

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(1). Ant. 17,9,4; B.J. 2,2,3.

(2). Ant. 17,9,5; B.J. 2,2,5. The first of these wills is recorded Ant. 17,6,1; B.J. 1,32,7; and the second Ant. 17,8,1; B.J. 1,33,7.

(3). Ant. 17,9,6; B.J. 2,2,6.



position of the case was left for the future (1).

Meanwhile revolt had broken out in Judea. Varus, the president of Syria, had expected trouble after Archelaus slew the three thousand; therefore he went to Jerusalem to quell disturbances, and left a legion there to preserve order. But after he left, the procurator of Syria, Sabinus, used these soldiers to oppress the people and search for the king's money (2). This occasioned fresh uprisings at Pentecost, when many Jews were in Jerusalem; they besieged Sabinus and his army from three sides. In one of the battles the costly temple cloisters were burnt by the Romans when Jews took refuge on top of them. The Romans also robbed the temple treasury and gave Sabinus 400 talents of the booty. Sabinus had sent word to Varus that his legion was in danger of being destroyed; so he maintained the siege, waiting for help to arrive (3).

Anarchy also broke out in other parts of Palestine. Josephus mentions four of the chief groups of seditionists: two thousand of Herod's veterans in Idumea (4); a band under Judas, son of the robber Hezekias whom Herod had slain, which captured the arsenal of Sepphoris in Galilee (5); Simon, a servant of the king, who made himself king in Perea (6); and Athrongeus, a shepherd who made himself king near Emmaus (7).

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- (1). Ant. 17, 9, 7; B.J. 2, 2, 7.
  - (2). Ant. 17, 10, 1; B.J. 2, 3, 1.
  - (3). Ant. 17, 10, 2.3; B.J. 2, 3, 1-4.
  - (4). Ant. 17, 10, 4; B.J. 2, 4, 1.
  - (5). Ant. 17, 10, 5; B.J. 2, 4, 1.
  - (6). Ant. 17, 10, 6; B.J. 2, 4, 2.
  - (7). Ant. 17, 10, 7; B.J. 2, 4, 3.



Again Varus came to Judea to restore order. He sent a punitive expedition to Sepphoris, which burnt that city and sold its inhabitants as slaves (1). Other villages that had been taken over by robbers were also plundered and burnt (2). When he came to Jerusalem the seditionists fled; but he sent out expeditions to capture them from the surrounding countryside, and crucified 2000 suspects (3). Sabinus, afraid to face Varus, had slipped out of the city; so Varus again left a garrison in Jerusalem and retired to Antioch (4).

In the meantime Archelaus in Rome had fresh troubles. An embassy of fifty Jews came to Augustus, joined by eight thousand of the Jews who lived in Rome (5). Philip had also come to Rome, to receive his share in the distribution of Herod's kingdom. At the hearing the Jewish delegates complained of the tyranny of Herod the Great, and told how they had expected Archelaus to be more lenient; but by slaying the three thousand Archelaus had proved that he also was a tyrant. Therefore, the Jews continued, they wished to be joined to Syria under a Roman procurator instead of having another Herod to rule over them (6). Nicolaus defended the Herods by saying that the responsibility for such occasions as the slaughter mentioned lay upon the Jews, who took pleasure in sedition. Then Augustus dismissed the assembly and deliberated for a few days over the

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- (1). Ant. 17, 10, 9; B.J. 2, 5, 1.
  - (2). Ant. 17, 10, 9; B.J. 2, 5, 1.
  - (3). Ant. 17, 10, 10; B.J. 2, 5, 2.
  - (4). Ant. 17, 11, 1; B.J. 2, 5, 3.
  - (5). Ant. 17, 11, 1; B.J. 2, 6, 1.
  - (6). Ant. 17, 11, 2; B.J. 2, 6, 2.



matter. Finally he appointed Archelaus ethnarch (1) of half of Herod's kingdom: Idumea, Judea, Samaria, and the cities of Caesarea, Sebaste, Joppa, and Jerusalem. Antipas and Philip were given tetrarchies; Salome received the rule over Jamnia, Ashdod, and Phasaelis, and was given the royal palace of Ascalon; the rest of Herod's children received various sums of money as provided in the will (2).

Josephus tells us very little about the reign of Archelaus. His first act was to remove the high priest Joazar, putting his brother Eleazar in his place; later he replaced Eleazar with Jesus, the son of Sie. The royal palace at Jericho was rebuilt on a magnificent scale by Archelaus, and irrigation ditches were dug for the palm plantations in the vicinity. Archelaus also built a village which he named Archelais (3). He transgressed the laws of the Jews by divorcing his first wife Mariamne and marrying Glaphyra, who had before been the wife of unfortunate Alexander, half-brother of Archelaus (4).

The reign of Archelaus did not last long. In the year 6 A.D. both his subjects and his brothers reported him to Augustus for tyranny. Augustus, very angry, sent for him

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(1). Matt. 2, 22 uses the verb basileuo of Archelaus, although he was never officially appointed king. However, among the people Archelaus was considered a king and called such, B.J. 2, 6, 2; Josephus himself calls him "king", Ant. 18, 4, 3. This points to a wide use of the term basileus in the Koine; cf. John 19, 15 where it is used of the emperor, B.J. 5, 2, 2 where it is used of the emperor's son Titus, and Mark 6, 10 of Antipas the tetrarch.

(2). Ant. 17, 11, 4; B.J. 2, 6, 3.

(3). Ant. 17, 13, 1.

(4). Ant. 17, 13, 4; B.J. 2, 7, 4.



and banished him to Vienna, Gaul (1), confiscating his wealth. In exile in Gaul he died, as Strabo reports (2). His ethnarchy was annexed to Syria, and Coponius was sent to Judea as procurator (3).

We do not have nearly so much material on the character of Archelaus as we had concerning Herod the Great. However, there is enough to give us an outline of the man.

Matthew (4) says of Joseph, the foster-father of Christ: "When he heard that Archelaus did reign in Judea in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither; notwithstanding, being warned of God in a dream, he turned aside into the parts of Galilee", where the milder Antipas was tetrarch. This implies that Archelaus was like his father, from whom Joseph and his family had fled into Egypt.

Josephus' account bears out the fact that Archelaus was another Herod, but on a smaller scale. He had inherited Herod's bad qualities, but not his greatness.

That Archelaus was a cruel tyrant is evident. One of his first acts after his father's death was to have three thousand of the people slain during an uprising (5). Both

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(1). Ant. 17,13,2; B.J. 2,7,3. Dio Cassius also records this, 55,27,6: "Herod of Palestine, who was accused by his brothers of some wrongdoing or other, was banished beyond the Alps, and his portion was confiscated to the state", and Strabo, 16,2,46: "One of them (the sons of Herod) died in exile among the Galatae Allobroges, whose country was assigned for his abode". Dio says this was in the consulship of Amelius Lepidus and L. Arruntius, hence 759 A.U.C. or 6 A.D. In Antiquities Josephus says this occurred in Archelaus' tenth year; in Wars of the Jews, ninth year.

(2). loc. cit.

(3). Ant. 18,1,1; B.J. 2,7,1.

(4). Chapter 2,22.

(5). Ant. 17,9,3; B.J. 2,1,3.



his relatives (1) and the Jewish people (2) based their request for direct Roman rule upon his tyranny. The people said he had acted thus "lest he should be in danger of not being thought the genuine son of Herod" -- thereby testifying that he was as tyrannical as his father had been. Josephus also speaks of his "barbarous and tyrannical usage" of his subjects (3). The reason for his banishment was that "he had broken the commands of Caesar, which obliged him to behave himself with moderation among them" (4).

Also Archelaus' attitude toward religion was borrowed from his father. He once sacrificed (5), as though he held to the Jewish beliefs. But thrice he deposed the high priest of the Jews, appointing: Eleazar, Jesus, then Joazar for a second term (6). He publicly mourned his father's death according to the best Jewish tradition (7); but his relatives said that during the nights of mourning he indulged in feasts (8). Further disregard of Jewish law was shown when he divorced his first wife and married Glaphyra, who already had three children by Archelaus' half-brother Alexander (9).

A final characteristic of Archelaus which comes to our attention is his love of feasts. He gave the people an

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- (1). Ant. 17, 9, 4, 5; B.J. 2, 2, 3-5.
  - (2). Ant. 17, 11, 2; B.J. 2, 6, 2.
  - (3). Ant. 17, 13, 2.
  - (4). Ant. 17, 13, 2.
  - (5). Ant. 17, 8, 4; B.J. 2, 1, 2.
  - (6). Ant. 17, 9, 1; 17, 13, 1; 18, 1, 1.
  - (7). Ant. 17, 8, 4; B.J. 2, 1, 1.
  - (8). Ant. 17, 9, 5; B.J. 2, 2, 5.
  - (9). Ant. 17, 13, 1.



expensive funeral feast at Herod's death (1); he feasted during the nights of mourning (2) and immediately after the mourning period (3); and he was feasting with his friends when called to Rome for banishment (4).

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- (1). B.J. 2,1,1.  
 (2). Ant. 17,9,5; B.J. 2,2,5.  
 (3). Ant. 17,8,4; B.J. 2,1,2.  
 (4). Ant. 17,13,2.



## ANTIPAS

Antipas was a full brother to Archelaus, his mother also being Malthace, the Samaritan wife of Herod (1). With Archelaus he spent his youth in Rome (2). In the will which Herod made when his fatal illness came upon him, Antipas was given the kingdom (3); but just a few days before his death Herod made a new will in which the kingdom was given to Archelaus, and the tetrarchy of Galilee and Perea was left to Antipas (4). When Herod's estate was brought before Augustus for execution, Antipas attempted to obtain the kingdom by accusing Archelaus of tyranny and Herod of unsound mind when the last testament was drawn up (5); but Augustus confirmed the will as it stood, thus giving Antipas only the tetrarchy in which Jesus and John were to appear (6).

One of Herod Antipas' first acts was to rebuild Sepphoris in Galilee (7), which had been razed by Varus in the disturbances after the death of Herod the Great (8). This city was fortified with a wall, and made the metropolis of Galilee. Also Betharamphtha in Perea was fortified, and was renamed "Julias" in honor of the emperor's wife (9).

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- (1). Ant. 17,1,3; B.J. 1,28,4.  
 (2). Ant. 17,1,3.  
 (3). Ant. 17,6,1; B.J. 1,32,7.  
 (4). Ant. 17,8,1; B.J. 1,33,7.  
 (5). Ant. 17,9,4; B.J. 2,3,2.  
 (6). Ant. 17,11,4; B.J. 2,6,3. Mark 6,14 calls him "King Herod"; but we have already seen (p. 41 n.1) that basileus is sometimes used in a wide sense in the Koine.  
 (7). Ant. 18,2,1.  
 (8). Ant. 17,10,9; B.J. 2,5,1.  
 (9). Ant. 18,2,1; B.J. 2,9,1.



Later, during Tiberius' regime, Antipas built the city of Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee (1); but because this city was erected on the site of an ancient graveyard, the Jews did not wish to become unclean by living there (2). Therefore Antipas had trouble finding inhabitants for his new city. He solved the problem by admitting Gentiles, by giving good houses and land to poor people who would move in, and by making free men of many Galileans who settled there.

Antipas had married the daughter of King Aretas of Arabia -- probably as a political move, since the Arabians had long been enemies of the Jews. But one time when he was visiting in Rome, he stayed with his half-brother Herod (3) -- the son of Mariamne the high priest's daughter -- whom Herod the Great had deprived of any inheritance when he found Mariamne involved in a plot (4). Antipas fell in love with his brother's wife Herodias, who was the daughter of his half-brother Aristobulus, and therefore also his niece. She, ambitious for power, agreed to come to his tetrarchy and marry him after his return from Rome, provided he would divorce Aretas' daughter. But the Arabian heard

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(1). Ant. 18,2,3; B.J. 2,9,1.

(2). Cf. Num. 19,16.

(3). Ant. 18,5,1. This Herod is called "Philip" in Mark 6,17; Matt. 14,3; Luke 3,19 (in the last two passages some manuscripts omit the name). Evidently he was known by both names, as Antipas is called both Herod and Antipas. Critics (Schuerer, Keim, Ewald) claim that the evangelists have confused this brother with another, Philip the tetrarch. But none of the evangelists say that this Philip was a tetrarch; and the duplications of names in the Herodian family make it probable that both of these children of Herod the Great were known as "Philip".

(4). Ant. 17,4,2.



of these plans, and fled to her royal father (1). Herodias now came to live with Antipas, bringing with her a daughter named Salome (2), who later was to marry Philip the tetrarch (3).

At this time John the Baptist was preaching along the Jordan, which separated Antipas' country of Perea from Judea. Fearlessly John reproved Antipas for his unlawful taking of his brother's wife and for other evils which he had committed (4). For Herodias' sake Antipas cast John into prison at Machaerus (5). Herodias urged Antipas to kill John; and though he wanted to please her, he nevertheless desisted out of fear of the people (6) and respect for John's teachings (7).

John languished in prison while Herodias waited. Her chance came when Antipas celebrated his birthday (8). To this event were invited all the chief men of Antipas' realm. At the banquet Salome danced before the company in a manner that pleased her step-father very much. He promised upon oath to give her whatsoever she desired, up to half of his

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- (1). Ant. 18, 5, 1.
  - (2). Matt. 14, 6; Mark 6, 22.
  - (3). Ant. 18, 5, 4.
  - (4). Matt. 14, 3-5; Mark 6, 17-20; Luke 3, 19, 20.
  - (5). Ant. 18, 5, 2. Josephus gives as the reason for John's imprisonment, fear that his influence over the large crowds which heard him might lead to sedition. Perhaps both factors were involved. The New Testament accounts show that Antipas had a healthy respect for John's popularity.
  - (6). Matt. 14, 5.
  - (7). Mark 6, 20.
  - (8). Tois genesiois, Matt. 14, 6; Mark 6, 21. Some exegetes maintain that this is the celebration of his inauguration. The year was 29 A.D.; cf. Schuerer, Div. I, vol. II, pp. 30-32 for determination.



kingdom. Salome consulted her mother, who told her to ask for the head of John the Baptist on a platter. Afraid to rescind his oath in the company of his princes, Antipas gave in to Herodias' murderous desire; John was beheaded in prison (1).

Not long after this Antipas' attention was drawn to Jesus, who was active in Galilee. It was natural that Antipas should hear of Christ; for not only did Jesus attract much public attention (2), but the wife of the tetrarch's steward Chuza was one of the female disciples of Christ (3); and later on Manaen, who was brought up with Antipas, became one of the leaders of the Christian congregation at Antioch (4). Herod Antipas was puzzled over who Jesus might be. He thought this must be John the Baptist, risen from the dead (5); but he did not yet have a chance to fulfill his desire to see Jesus (6).

Jesus continued to preach, and evidently Antipas' guilty conscience continued to tell him that this was John; for one day after Christ had preached of the judgment, the Pharisees tried to intimidate Him by saying (7): "Get thee out, and depart hence; for Herod will (8) kill thee". Jesus told them to tell "that fox" (9) that He would continue

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- (1). Ant. 18,5,2; Matt. 14,10; Mark 6,27; Luke 9,9.
  - (2). Matt. 14,1; Mark 6,14.
  - (3). Luke 8,3.
  - (4). Acts 13,1.
  - (5). Matt. 14,2; Mark 6,16.
  - (6). Luke 9,9.
  - (7). Luke 13,31.
  - (8). Thelei, wishes to.
  - (9). The connotation of slyness is evident; but the context indicates also the destructiveness of the fox.



to do His work.

On Good Friday Antipas' long-standing wish to see Jesus was gratified (1). The ruler was in Jerusalem at the time, probably having come for the Passover celebration. Pilate had just ascertained that Jesus was from Galilee; therefore he sent Him to Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee. Antipas wanted to see one of those miracles of which he had heard; Jesus would not cater to his desire for entertainment. He asked questions; Jesus did not answer them. Then Antipas and his soldiers mocked their Prisoner by arraying Him in a gorgeous robe. Having thus received as much sport as he could from Christ, Antipas sent Him back to Pilate for trial. As a result of this episode "Pilate and Herod were made friends together; for before they were at enmity between themselves" (2), probably because of Pilate slaying some of Antipas' Galileans at their sacrifices (3).

Antipas' troubles over his unlawful marriage were not yet concluded. King Aretas was not pleased with the way his daughter had been cast aside. He used this incident as the occasion for a war against Antipas, with whom he also had a boundary dispute at the time (4). Antipas' army was defeated through the treachery of some of his soldiers. Then Antipas wrote to Tiberius of how Aretas was disturbing

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(1). Luke 23, 7-12.

(2). Luke 23, 12.

(3). Luke 13, 1. Whiston thinks this may refer to the slaughter mentioned Ant. 18, 3, 2.

(4). Ant. 18, 5, 1. This war took place shortly before the death of Tiberius, Ant. 18, 5, 3. Since Tiberius died in March, 37 A.D., the Arabian war must have been in 36.



the pax Romana; and Tiberius ordered the president of Syria, Vitellius, to wage war against Aretas. On the way Vitellius loitered in Jerusalem with Antipas. While there he heard of the death of Tiberius, and thereupon abandoned the campaign against Arabia (1).

Shortly before the Arabian war, according to Josephus (2), Vitellius had made a treaty of peace with the Parthian king Artabanus on a bridge across the Euphrates. Antipas was present on this occasion, and reported the favorable terms to Caesar before Vitellius had a chance to do so. This aroused the enmity of Vitellius, and explains why he so procrastinated in defending Antipas' cause against the Arabians.

When Agrippa I was made king his ambitious sister Herodias was jealous; for her husband was only a tetrarch. Therefore she began to nag: Agrippa had been advanced from the position of a private man to a king; how much more would not the emperor raise a tetrarch to royal authority? Agrippa was not the son of a king, but Antipas was; would it not be much easier for Antipas to rise? (3). At first Antipas took a realistic view; he was satisfied with his position, and complaint might cause trouble. But when his wife continued to harp on this same string, he finally gave in and sailed with her to Rome (4). But at the same time Agrippa, who had much influence upon the emperor Caligula

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(1). Ant. 18, 5, 3.

(2). Ant. 18, 4, 5. But Dio Cassius and Suetonius place this treaty after Tiberius' death; cf. Schuerer, I, II, p. 34.

(3). Ant. 18, 7, 1.

(4). Ant. 18, 7, 2.



(Caius), sent letters accusing Antipas of previously having conspired with Sejanus, and of having a current plot with Artabanus; proof of the latter was said to be Antipas' armory, with equipment for 70,000 men. When Antipas appeared before Caligula, the emperor asked him whether he had that much armor stored up. The tetrarch could not deny it, for it was well known. This was considered proof of the charge; Antipas was banished to Lyons, Gaul, and his domain given to Agrippa (1). The cause of his downfall, Herodias, here showed that she had a little sense of honor. When Caligula heard that she was the sister of the favored Agrippa, he offered to spare her the punishment of Antipas; but she answered that she had shared her husband's prosperity, and would not now forsake him in his misfortune. Thereupon she also was banished (2). In his exile Antipas died (3).

In many respects Herod Antipas was a small-scale reproduction of his father. His ambition is shown by his at-

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(1). Ant. 18,7,2. B.J. 2,9,6 gives Spain as the place of banishment. - Schuerer (Div. I, vol. II, p. 36 n.45) shows that Antipas was banished in the summer of 39 A.D. Caligula ruled from March in 37 till January in 41. Agrippa came to Judea as king, thereby making Herodias envious, in the second year of Caligula (Ant. 18,6,11), thus in the year 38/39. The banishment followed soon after this. - Extant coins show Antipas' 43rd year; hence he ruled after Nisan in 39. But in the fall of 39 Caligula left Italy for a year's campaign, as Dio Cassius (59,21-25) and Suetonius (Caligula, 17,43-49) show. The banishment occurred prior to this campaign, since Agrippa received Antipas' tetrarchy in the fourth year of Caligula's reign (Ant. 19,8,2), or 40 A.D.

(2). Ant. 18,7,2.

(3). B.J. 2,9,6.



tempt to obtain the kingdom by disputing Herod's final will (1). This ambition died down in his later life, but was rekindled by his wife when Agrippa was made a king (2).

Like his father Antipas loved to build, as his cities Sephoris, Julias, and Tiberias show (3); and like his father, he gave two of these Roman names. He further carried out his servility to the emperor by appealing to him against king Aretas (4) and by hurriedly reporting the favorable news of the treaty with Artabanus (5). He took his father's attitude toward the religious laws of the Jews, obeying them when he saw fit, but being insincere in religious matters. Thus he went to Jerusalem for the Passover during Holy Week (6); and he sacrificed when Vitellius was in Jerusalem with him (7). But he violated Jewish laws by building Tiberias on an unclean site (8) and by putting images in his palace there (9). A flagrant violation of Jewish morality was his adultery with Herodias (10). Also the dance of Salome which so pleased him was probably of a licentious nature. He seems to have had some of his father's wisdom; for he was able to amass much wealth, as is shown by the way he was able to support his brother-in-law Agrippa for a while (11) and by his

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- (1). Ant. 17,9,4; B.J. 2,2,3.
  - (2). Ant. 18,7,1; B.J. 2,9,6.
  - (3). Ant. 18,2,1.3; B.J. 2,9,1.
  - (4). Ant. 18,5,1.
  - (5). Ant. 18,4,5.
  - (6). Luke 23,7.
  - (7). Ant. 18,5,3.
  - (8). Ant. 18,2,3.
  - (9). Vita 12.
  - (10). Matt. 14,3-5; Mark 6,17-20; Luke 3,19.20.
  - (11). Ant. 18,1,2.



armory with supplies for 70,000 men (1). The greatest testimony to his wisdom is the fact that he was able to rule over Jews for forty-three years without a revolt. Even Jesus acknowledged his wisdom, or rather his craftiness, by calling him a "fox" (2).

Herod Antipas seems to have been more pleasure loving than his father. We think of how he took Herodias for pleasure, without regard for the consequences; of how he held the luxurious birthday celebration which culminated in John's death; of how he sought to see Christ perform a miracle for entertainment, and mocked Him with a royal robe (3).

Antipas was not as cruel as his father or his brother Archelaus; that is why the parents of Jesus took their Child to Nazareth (4). He did not want to kill John the Baptist, and his conscience bothered him after he had done so. Notwithstanding, he is the one who gave the order for John's death; and he once wished to kill Christ (5). Later the first Christians mentioned him as an enemy of Jesus (6).

Perhaps the most noticeable characteristic of Antipas is his vacillation; he was not firm in his decisions as his father had been, but instead could easily be persuaded by others. Herodias persuaded him to imprison John. Evidently he visited John in the prison; and John's preaching af-

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- (1). Ant. 18, 7, 2.
  - (2). Luke 13, 32.
  - (3). Gospel accounts, loc. cit.
  - (4). Matt. 2, 22.
  - (5). Luke 13, 31.
  - (6). Acts 4, 27.



fecting him (1). The presence of the nobles at the birthday party influenced him to give the order for execution which he had intended not to give. The nagging of Herodias induced him to try for royal dignity against his better judgment (2). Thus in the end it was his vacillation that caused his fall.

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(1). Mark 6, 20.

(2). Ant. 18, 7, 2; B.J. 2, 9, 6.



## PHILIP

Philip was the son of Herod the Great by Cleopatra of Jerusalem (1). His education, like that of so many of his brothers, took place in Rome (2).

When Archelaus first went to Rome to seek Herod's kingdom, he left his domestic and political affairs in the hands of Philip (3). Perhaps he, in turn, intended to look after Philip's inheritance in Herod's will (4). But when the Jews sent an embassy to complain about Archelaus, Philip also went to Rome at the insistence of Varus, who wanted him to defend Archelaus and to be present at the division of the kingdom so that he would receive his share (5). In the final disposition of Herod's will he was made tetrarch of Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and part of the "House of Zenodorus" (6). This tetrarchy was northeast of Galilee; its inhabitants were "a mixture of Jews and Syrians" (7).

We are told very little concerning Philip the tetrarch. Josephus mentions but a few events in his life; and the New Testament merely names him once, in an enumeration of rulers when John the Baptist began to preach (8).

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(1). Ant. 17,1,3; B.J. 1,28,4. This is not the first husband of Herodias, who also is called Philip in the N.T.

(2). Ant. 17,1,3.

(3). Ant. 17,9,3; B.J. 2,2,1.

(4). Ant. 17,8,1; B.J. 1,33,8: Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and Paneas.

(5). Ant. 17,11,1; B.J. 2,6,1.

(6). Ant. 17,11,4; B.J. 2,6,3. Luke 3,1 mentions also Iturea, which was probably a part of the "House of Zenodorus".

(7). B.J. 3,3,5.

(8). Luke 3,1.



Early in his reign Philip rebuilt Paneas at the springs which formed the main source of the Jordan, naming it Caesarea (1). To this vicinity Jesus once retired with his disciples during the later period of His ministry; the Evangelists call it Caesarea Philippi (2), to distinguish it from the harbor city which Herod had made out of Strato's Tower (3). Philip also enlarged Bethsaida on the Sea of Galilee, and renamed it Julias in honor of Augustus' daughter (4).

In his description of the Jordan (5) Josephus records that the principal source of that river had always been thought to be the springs at Paneas; but that Philip, by throwing chaff into the basin known as Phiala, proved that this basin was connected with the springs by an underground river when the chaff emerged at Paneas.

We also know that Philip the tetrarch was married to Salome, that daughter of Herodias who had asked for the head of John the Baptist; this couple had no children (6).

Philip died at Bethsaida-Julias, the city on the Sea of Galilee which he had rebuilt, "in the twentieth year of the reign of Tiberius, after he had been tetrarch . . . .

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(1). Ant. 18,2,1; B.J. 2,9,1. Schuerer (Div. II, vol. I, p. 133) states that extant coins date the city's founding in 3 or 2 B.C.

(2). Matt. 16,13; Mark 8,27.

(3). Ant. 15,9,6; B.J. 1,21,5.

(4). Ant. 18,2,1; B.J. 2,9,1. Schuerer (Div. II, vol. I, p. 135) shows that this occurred before 2 B.C.; for in that year Augustus banished his daughter Julia, as Dio Cassius testifies 55,10.

(5). B.J. 3,10,7.

(6). Ant. 18,5,4.



thirty-seven years" (1), hence in the winter of 33/34 A.D. He was buried with great pomp in a tomb which he had before prepared for himself. His tetrarchy was added to the province of Syria till 37 A.D., when it was given to Herod Agrippa I (2).

It is unsafe to generalize concerning one's character from only a few incidents of one's life. Since we have so little information about Philip, we cannot form much of a picture of his character. However, what we do know of him reflects the opinion of his contemporaries.

Philip is portrayed to us as the best of the Herods. It is true that he followed his father by naming cities which he had built in honor of Roman dignitaries (3); but this occurred only in the first few years of his reign. Throughout the time of his rule he issued coins with the image of Caesar (4); his are the first Jewish coins with an image on them -- which was possible only in a community with a large Gentile element.

That Philip was trustworthy seems evident from the confidence that Archelaus imposed in him when he left his family and realm in Philip's care while he visited Rome (5). Also the insistence of Varus, president of Syria, that Phi-

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(1). Ant. 18,4,6. Tiberius began his rule in August, 14 A.D.; hence his twentieth year would begin August, 33. Philip began his tetrarchy in 4 B.C. or 750 A.U.C.; his thirty-seventh year would end Nisan 787 A.U.C., or 34 A.D.

(2). Ant. 18,6,10; B.J. 2,9,6.

(3). Ant. 18,2,1; B.J. 2,9,1. Cf. p. 56.

(4). Schuerer, Div. I, vol. II, p. 15.

(5). Ant. 17,9,3; B.J. 2,2,1.



lip should receive part of the kingdom of Herod (1) points to Philip as a good ruler. But the most favorable tribute to Philip is Josephus' description of his rule (2):

He had showed himself a person of moderation and quietness in the conduct of his life and government; he constantly lived in that country which was subject to him; he used to make his progress with a few chosen friends; his tribunal also, on which he sat in judgment, followed him in his progress; and when any one met him who wanted his assistance, he made no delay, but had his tribunal set down immediately, wheresoever he happened to be, and sat down upon it, and heard his complaint; he there ordered the guilty that were convicted to be punished, and absolved those that had been accused unjustly.

Thus the picture of Philip the tetrarch that has been handed down to us by his contemporaries is entirely favorable; there is not a single evil deed recorded of him.

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- (1). Ant. 17,11,1; B.J. 2,6,1.  
 (2). Ant. 18,4,6.



## AGRIPPA I

Agrippa I was a grandson of Herod the Great. His father was Aristobulus (1), the son of Herod and the Asmonean Mariamne. His mother was Bernice (2), the daughter of Herod's sister Salome and the Idumean Costobarus (3). Thus Agrippa was one-fourth Jew, three-fourths Idumean. He was born about 10 B.C. (4).

Orphaned by the execution of his father about 7 B.C., Agrippa was cared for by Herod, who pitied Aristobulus' children to ease his conscience concerning their father's death (5). When hardly six years old Agrippa was sent to Rome to acquire a good education (6). Here he was brought up with Drusus, the son of emperor Tiberius, while his ambitious mother also contracted valuable friendships which might help advance her son. Agrippa also tried to advance his standing by many gifts to Romans and by a luxurious life; this extravagance showed itself especially after death had removed the restraining influence of his mother.

But the golden period of Agrippa's youth was followed by misfortune. In 23 A.D. Drusus died; and Tiberius forbade the friends of his deceased son to appear in court, because they reminded him of his grief (7). Also, the ex-

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1/✓ (1). Ant. 18, 5, 4; B.J. 2, 9, 5.  
 {2}. Ant. 18, 5, 4.  
 ✓ {3}. Ant. 15, 13, 9.  
 (4). Ant. 19, 8, 2 says that he was in his fifty-fourth year when he died in 44 A.D.  
 {5}. Ant. 17, 1, 2.  
 ✓ {6}. Ant. 18, 6, 1.  
 (7). Ant. 18, 6, 1.



travagant life of Agrippa exhausted his financial resources. Deep in debt, he left Rome for Judea (1). Retiring to Malatha in Idumea, he contemplated suicide; but his wife Cypros (2) wrote to his sister Herodias, who in turn persuaded her husband Antipas the tetrarch to take care of them. Antipas made Agrippa magistrate of Tiberias, and appointed a regular income for his support. But even this was not sufficient for the extravagant parasite; and as the result of a quarrel between the two brothers-in-law, Agrippa left for Syria.

Flaccus was president of Syria at the time; he was an ex-consul, and had been a good friend of Agrippa in Rome. Therefore he invited Agrippa to stay with him (3). But also this means of livelihood did not last long. Agrippa was bribed by the people of Damascus to aid them before Flaccus in a quarrel which they had with the Sidonians. Agrippa's brother and enemy Aristobulus, who was also staying with Flaccus at the time; reported this to the Roman; and Agrippa lost the friendship of Flaccus.

Now Agrippa decided to try his luck in Rome again; but he had no money for the trip. Therefore he had his freed-man borrow a sum from another freed-man for his fare to the Roman capital (4). But before he could sail the procurator

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(1). Ant. 18,6,2. This section shows that the trip occurred after the marriage of Antipas and Herodias, hence ca. 30 A.D.

(2). The daughter of Phasaël (Herod's brother) and Salampsio (daughter of Herod by Mariamne the Asmonean), Ant. 18,5,4.

9- (3). Ant. 18,6,3.

(4). Ant. 18,6,3.



of Jamnia sent a band of soldiers to demand of him a large amount which he owed the emperor's treasury. That night Agrippa slipped away to Alexandria, where he attempted to borrow from Alexander the alabarch. This ruler evidently knew Agrippa's reputation; for he refused to lend him the money, though he did lend it to his wife Cypros. She then returned to Judea with their children, while Agrippa sailed to Rome (1).

Tiberius gave Agrippa a hearty reception; but the very next day he received a letter from the procurator of Jamnia, telling how Agrippa had fled his debt to the imperial treasury there. Now Tiberius banned the adventurer from his presence until this debt should be paid (2). Undaunted, Agrippa borrowed from Antonia, who had been a good friend of his mother Bernice (3), to pay the debt to the emperor. Then elsewhere he borrowed a still larger amount, out of which he repayed Antonia; and the surplus he used to gain the good will of Caius, who was very popular because his father Germanicus had held the esteem of the Romans.

However, Agrippa's ambition eventually brought him into trouble with the emperor. One day as he was riding with Caius in a chariot, he remarked that he wished Tiberius would soon die, so that Caius would become emperor. This remark was overheard by Eutychus, Agrippa's freed-man who

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(1). "A year before the death of Tiberius", Ant. 18,5,3. Tiberius died in March, 37 A.D.; hence this was in the spring of 36 A.D.

(2). Ant. 18,6,4.

(3). Ant. 18,6,1.4.



was driving the chariot (1). Later, when Agrippa accused Eutychus of stealing some garments, the freed-man appealed to Caesar. This case was left untried for a long time, as was customary with cases brought before Tiberius. Agrippa was anxious to have Eutychus punished soon; therefore he asked Antonia, who was in great favor with the emperor because she had prevented a plot from reaching fruition, to have the emperor try the case early. Finally Tiberius consented to do so. But when Eutychus was brought before the emperor, he disclosed the remark that Agrippa had made to Caius (2). Thereupon Agrippa was ordered bound while he was still wearing his royal garments. While he was thus bound, Josephus relates, a German prisoner who noticed his purple clothes told him that his imprisonment would not last long, but that he should soon be raised to great honor; then, calling his attention to an owl in the tree above them, the German said that when Agrippa should see that bird again, he would have but five days to live (3).

Six long months proud Agrippa languished in prison (4). Antonia saw to it that he had gentle soldiers as guards, and that he was given special food and clothing and an opportunity for a daily bath. Then, in March of 37, Tiberius died, having first appointed Caius (Caligula) to be his successor (5). Before even arriving at Rome with the body of the emperor, Caius sent word that Agrippa should be removed

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- (1). Ant. 18,7,5.
  - (2). Ant. 18,7,6; B.J. 2,9,5.
  - (3). Ant. 18,7,7.
  - (4). Ant. 18,7,7; B.J. 2,9,5.
  - (5). Ant. 18,6,10.



from the prison camp to a house. On the day of the funeral he wanted to release his Jewish friend; but Antonia considered it unwise to free one of Tiberius' prisoners so soon. Therefore Caius waited a few days, and then not only released Agrippa, but made him king of the deceased Philip's tetrarchy and of the tetrarchy of Lysanias (1). He also exchanged Agrippa's iron chain for a gold one of equal weight. The new king did not immediately go to Judea; he stayed in Italy until the second year of Caius' reign. Then he went to his kingdom to set things in order (2).

Agrippa's good fortune made his sister Herodias, who had recently supported him, very jealous; she urged her husband Antipas to ask for royal honors, as related above (cf. p. 50). When Antipas did this, Agrippa accused him of conspiracy. Since Agrippa was such a good friend of Caius, Antipas was banished and his realm added to Agrippa's in 39 A.D. (3).

At about this time trouble broke out in Alexandria between the Jewish and Greek inhabitants (4). Ambassadors were sent to represent these parties before the emperor -- Apion heading the delegation opposed to the Jews, while Philo was the chief Jewish ambassador. Apion charged the Jews with neglecting the honor of Caesar by refusing to erect altars and temples to him, and to swear by his name. Vain Caius became so incensed at this that he would not even

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(1). Ant. 18,6,10; B.J. 2,9,6.  
 (2). Ant. 18,6,11.  
 (3). Ant. 18,7,2.  
 (4). Ant. 18,8,1.



permit Philo to present a defense. Instead he made Petronius president of Syria with orders to invade Judea and place the emperor's statue in the temple; if the Jews resisted, they were to be sold into slavery (1). Petronius took his army to Ptolemais, where great numbers of the Jews met him and showed him the folly of the emperor's order, and how they would rather be killed than break their laws. Petronius then wrote to Caius concerning the determination of the Jews. In the meantime Agrippa, who had come back to Rome, undertook the defense of his people. He held an extremely elaborate banquet in honor of the emperor; and when Caius, pleased at this flattery, told Agrippa to ask something of him in return, the Jewish king cunningly said that Caius had given him all he could desire. Then when the emperor insisted upon granting a request, Agrippa cast the die by asking him to rescind the order to place a statue in the temple (2). The petition was made in such a way that Caius could hardly refuse it; therefore he wrote to Petronius that he need not bother about the matter any longer. However, when a few days later Caius received the letter telling how Petronius had reasoned with the Jews instead of summarily erecting the statue, he wrote again telling Petronius that he should be executed for neglecting to obey orders. Only the subsequent death of Caius prevented the execution of Petronius for his noble stand (3).

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(1). Ant. 18,8,2; B.J. 2,10,1.

(2). Ant. 18,8,7.

(3). Ant. 18,8,8.9; B.J. 2,10,5.



In January of 41 A.D. Caius was assassinated. Claudius, who wished to have nothing to do with politics, was seized by the soldiers; they wanted to make him emperor because he was a brother of the once-popular Germanicus (1). The senators, however, wished to restore the democracy (2). In this crisis Agrippa, still in Rome, showed his political skill. He encouraged the frightened Claudius to accept the imperium, and then exhorted the senate to persuade Claudius to lay down the government without bloodshed (3). When the senate sent ambassadors to Claudius, Agrippa told him just what to say to them (4). When finally the last soldiers that had remained with the senate deserted to Claudius (5), the senators had to give up their hopes and Claudius became emperor. Since the new ruler owed his position to Agrippa, he rewarded him by confirming the kingdom which Caius had granted him, and by enlarging his realm to include all over which Herod the Great had ruled, plus Abilene (6). At the request of Agrippa Claudius also made the king's brother Herod the king of Chalcis (7); and because of Agrippa he restored to the Jews at Alexandria the privileges of which they had been deprived under Caius (8), and sent an edict throughout his empire that the Jews should be permitted to

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- (1). Ant. 19,3.  
 (2). Ant. 19,2.  
 (3). Ant. 19,4,1; B.J. 2,11,2.  
 (4). Ant. 19,4,2.  
 (5). Ant. 19,4,4; B.J. 2,11,4.  
 (6). Ant. 19,5,1; B.J. 2,11,5.  
 (7). Ant. 19,5,1; B.J. 2,11,5.  
 (8). Ant. 19,5,2.



observe their peculiar customs (1).

Now Agrippa returned to Jerusalem to rule his kingdom. The golden chain which Caius had placed about his neck he hung in the temple "that it might be a demonstration how the greatest prosperity may have a fall, and that God sometimes raises up what is fallen down" (2). He also sacrificed; and he restored the high priesthood to Simon, whose daughter Herod the Great had married (3). Also, he lowered the taxes of his subjects (4).

A little later some of the Gentiles at Doris took a statue of the emperor into the Jewish synagogue there. Since this was outside of his kingdom, Agrippa went to Petronius and reminded him of Claudius' edict granting the Jews freedom of worship. Petronius then wrote to the centurion at Doris to bring him the leaders of the Gentiles who had occasioned this disturbance, and thus protected the rights of the Jews (5).

During his reign Agrippa attempted to strengthen Jerusalem by repairing its walls and making them higher and wider, so that it might be "impractical for the Romans to take it by siege" (6). However, when the president of Syria, Marcus at that time, reported this to Claudius, the emperor told the king to cease building the walls. Lest he should lose Claudius' favor Agrippa obeyed this order.

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- (1). Ant. 19, 5, 3.
  - (2). Ant. 19, 6, 1.
  - (3). Ant. 19, 6, 2.
  - (4). Ant. 19, 6, 3.
  - (5). Ant. 19, 6, 3.
  - (6). B.J. 2, 11, 6; Ant. 19, 7, 2.



Another project undertaken by Agrippa, with greater success, was the building at Berytus of an expensive theatre and amphitheatre (1). Here musical entertainment and gladiatorial games took place.

For a while Agrippa lived in Tiberias; and here again he had a minor disagreement with Roman rulers. He had invited four neighboring kings to his palace for entertainment. While they were there he was visited by Marcus, the president of Syria. Marcus considered this friendliness among the five kings dangerous to Roman rule; therefore he told the guests to go home. This made Agrippa and Marcus enemies (2).

From Caesarea Agrippa evidently moved to Jerusalem for a while. There he came into contact with the infant Christian Church. In line with his policy of pleasing the Jewish people, Agrippa had James the son of Zebedee beheaded (3). The Apostle Peter was to be the next victim; he was imprisoned under careful guard, since he had once before escaped from jail (4), and was to be executed after the Easter season. Despite the heavy guard, however, Peter was delivered by an angel the very night before his impending execution. He then went to "another place" (5), probably somewhere outside Agrippa's dominions. After a fruitless search

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(1). Ant. 19,7,5.

(2). Ant. 19,8,1.

(3). Acts 12,2. This occurred shortly before Easter (cf. v. 3) in 44 A.D.

(4). Acts 5,19.

(5). Acts 12,17.



of the prison for his victim the next morning, Agrippa ordered the guards to be put to death, and then left to dwell at Caesarea.

At Caesarea Agrippa met his death, as both Luke (1) and Josephus (2) tell us. Although different details are added in the two chief accounts, the record in Antiquities remarkably substantiates that of Acts. Acts alone mentions that the people of Tyre and Sidon, with whom Agrippa had previously been displeased, had now come to him desiring peace because their cities depended upon his country for their food supply. Josephus adds that this was at the time of the games in honor of Caesar, and hence a large multitude had gathered together for the celebration. On the second day of the festival Agrippa made a public appearance to address the people. Acts calls attention to his "royal apparel", which Josephus describes as a silver garment that glistened in the morning sun. Both records say that the people flattered Agrippa by calling him a god, and that he did not reject this idolatry. Because of this he was immediately smitten by God. Josephus inserts that just before his punishment he saw an owl above him, which recalled the prophecy of the German that when he saw this bird he would have but five days more to live (3). His fatal illness seems to have been similar to that of Herod the Great; the New Testament states that "he was eaten of worms", while

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(1). Acts 12, 19-23.

(2). Ant. 19, 8, 2; B.J. 2, 11, 6.

(3). Cf. p. 62.



Josephus says: "A severe pain arose in his belly, and began in a most violent manner". He was carried to his palace, where, after five days of suffering, he expired (1). He left behind him three daughters and a son (2).

The outstanding characteristic of Agrippa I is his extravagance. While a young man in Rome he went deeply into debt; he could not live comfortably enough on the allowance which Antipas gave him as magistrate of Tiberias; his need for money caused him to accept the bribe which made Flaccus dismiss him from the Syrian court; he borrowed his fare to Rome from a freed-man, and was almost hindered from going there because of his debt to the imperial treasury at Jamnia; he was so well known as a debtor that Alexander would not lend to him, but only to his wife; in Rome he borrowed from Antonia, and then from a freed-man to repay her (3). The sumptuous banquet which he prepared for Caius (4) shows how he spent his money on luxuries, as does also the silver clothing with which he was attired when he became fatally ill (5). Besides the record of his financial difficulties, we have the testimony of Josephus that he was extravagant -- although Josephus, who was somewhat prejudiced because the son of Agrippa I was one of his best pa-

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(1). Ant. 19,8,2 tells us that he had reigned three years under Claudius. Claudius succeeded Caius early in 41; hence three years later is 44 A.D. His death occurred shortly after the Passover of that year, Acts 12,3.

(2). B.J. 2,11,6.

(3). All of the above are recorded Ant. 18,6.

(4). Ant. 18,8,7.

(5). Ant. 19,8,2.



trons (1), calls this "liberality" and "beneficence". "Now this king was by nature very beneficent, and liberal in his gifts, and very ambitious to oblige people with such large donations; and he made himself very illustrious by the many chargeable presents he made them. He took delight in giving, and rejoiced in living with good reputation" (2). "The revenues that he received (as king) were very great, no less than twelve millions of drachmae. Yet did he borrow great sums from others; for he was so very liberal that his expenses exceeded his incomes, and his generosity was boundless" (3).

Agrippa was also ambitious. In his youth at Rome he became a companion of the emperor's son Drusus (4), lavishing gifts upon him and other Romans. After the death of Drusus he transferred his affection to Caius (5), whom he correctly expected to be the next emperor. When he already had a small kingdom, he falsely accused Antipas of sedition so that Galilee and Perea would be added to his realm (6). He cleverly used his influence and ability to have Claudius made emperor (7), so that Claudius would be under obligation to him and enlarge his domain still more (8). He began the building of a wall which would make Jerusalem impregnable (9),

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(1). Contra Apionem 1,9.

(2). Ant. 19,7,3.

(3). Ant. 19,8,2.

(4). Ant. 18,6,1.

(5). Ant. 18,7,5.

(6). Ant. 18,7,2.

(7). Ant. 19,4; B.J. 2,11.

(8). Ant. 19,5,1; B.J. 2,11,5.

(9). Ant. 19,7,2.



but which the emperor halted for that very reason. He was very friendly with neighboring kings (1), since this contributed to the stability of his power.

Agrippa was wise enough to see that his rule depended to a large extent upon his popularity with his subjects. Therefore he adhered to a policy of appeasing the majority of the Jews, and especially their religious leaders. When he prevented Caius from erecting his statue in the temple at Jerusalem (2), he prevented the possible destruction of the Jewish nation and earned their loyal support. But he went farther than to help the Jews in his kingdom only; he became the champion of Jews throughout the world. When the Jews at Alexandria were suppressed by Caius (3), Agrippa could hardly help them; he was afraid of Caius' temper. But when Claudius became emperor, Agrippa saw to it that the Alexandrian Jews were given full religious rights (4). This edict of toleration was also sent to other provinces of the Roman empire that contained Jewish inhabitants (5). When it was disregarded by Gentiles at Doris who carried a statue of Caesar into the synagogue there, Agrippa took the matter to the president of Syria and obtained the enforcement of the law favoring the Jews (6). He also appeased his subjects by relinquishing a tax (7).

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- (1). Ant. 19, 8, 1.
  - (2). Ant. 18, 8, 7.
  - (3). Ant. 18, 8, 1.
  - (4). Ant. 19, 5, 2.
  - (5). Ant. 19, 5, 3.
  - (6). Ant. 19, 6, 3.
  - (7). Ant. 19, 6, 3.



But the chief way in which Agrippa gained the support of the Jews was through his observance of Jewish law. He not only hung his golden chain in the temple (1), but he observed all of their ceremonies. Josephus, of priestly extraction (2), is lavish in his praise of Agrippa for this reason. "He also came to Jerusalem, and offered all the sacrifices that belonged to him, and omitted nothing which the law required; on which account he ordained that many of the Nazarites should have their heads shorn" (3). "He loved to live continually at Jerusalem, and was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country. He therefore kept himself entirely pure; nor did any day pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice" (4).

Despite Josephus' praise of Agrippa's holiness, it is hardly probable that religion was a matter of heart with this king. The first fifty years of his life were spent in adventurous living, including deeds such as his double-dealing with the Roman senate (5); it is very unlikely that during the remaining four years he experienced a change of heart. Three times he changed high priests contrary to Jewish law, appointing Simon (6), Matthias (7), and Elioenaios (8). He built a magnificent theatre at Berytus for

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- (1). Ant. 19, 6, 1.
  - (2). Vita 1.
  - (3). Ant. 19, 6, 1.
  - (4). Ant. 19, 7, 3.
  - (5). Ant. 19, 4, 1.
  - (6). Ant. 19, 6, 1.
  - (7). Ant. 19, 6, 4.
  - (8). Ant. 19, 81.



the illegal gladiatorial games (1). In his palace he had statues of his daughters (2), illegal to Jews. For these reasons we regard his religious acts, like his persecution of the Christians, as examples of his catering to Jewish popularity (3).

Josephus does not consider Agrippa cruel. "He was not at all like that Herod who reigned before him; for that Herod was ill-natured, and severe in his punishments, and had no mercy on them that he hated. . . . But Agrippa's temper was mild. . . . He was in like manner rather of a gentle and compassionate temper" (4). To substantiate this opinion Josephus tells how, when a certain Simon had maligned the king before the people, Agrippa had a gentle chat with him and sent him away with a present, instead of punishing him (5). Nevertheless, here again the actions of Agrippa speak louder than Josephus' words. In the gladiatorial games at Berytus Agrippa once had two groups of seven hundred malefactors oppose each other (6). If these fourteen hundred gladiators were all condemned criminals at the same time, it does not seem that Agrippa was so mild and compassionate; and if they were here killed for entertainment only and were not all criminals, Agrippa appears in a still worse light! Also, Agrippa had no qualms about executing James

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(1). Ant. 19,7,5.

(2). Ant. 19,9,1.

(3). Acts 12,3: "Because he saw it pleased the Jews" when he beheaded James, Agrippa had also Peter imprisoned.

(4). Ant. 19,7,3.

(5). Ant. 19,7,4.

(6). Ant. 19,7,5.



and wishing to execute Peter, when he saw that this was to his advantage (1). The guards who were unfortunate enough to be on duty when Peter escaped were executed as though they were guilty of carelessness (2). Furthermore, the way in which the inhabitants of Caesarea and Sebaste celebrated the death of Agrippa and abused the statues of his daughters (3) indicates that Agrippa had performed some acts of which these people did not approve.

Finally, we wish to give Agrippa I credit for keeping his word to two men who were kind to him in his affliction -- namely the slave Thaumastus (4) and a certain Silas (5) -- by rewarding them with positions of honor when he came to power.

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- (1). Acts 12, 1-4.
  - (2). Acts 12, 19.
  - (3). Ant. 19, 9, 1.
  - (4). Ant. 18, 6, 6.
  - (5). Ant. 19, 7, 1.



## AGRIPPA II

Agrippa Junior was the son of Agrippa I and Cypros (1), born in 27 A.D. (2). Since both his parents were three-quarters Idumean and one-fourth Jew (3), the child was of like blood lines. He was raised in Rome by the emperor Claudius (4).

When Agrippa I died, Claudius wished to give the realm to the son; but since Agrippa Junior was only seventeen years of age, the emperor's counselors persuaded him not to make this young man king, but to send a procurator to Judea. To this advice Claudius hearkened, appointing Cuspius Fadus to take care of the kingdom (5). Agrippa thus remained in Rome.

When Fadus ordered the high priest's garments put under Roman guard in the temple fortress Antonia, the Jews sent an embassy to Rome to protest. Agrippa met the Jewish ambassadors and espoused their cause (6). Since he had much influence with the emperor, Claudius granted his request that the holy garments be returned to Jewish authority (7).

In 48 A.D. Herod, king of Chalcis, died (8). His king-

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- (1). Ant. 19,9,1; B.J. 2,11,6.  
 (2). He was seventeen at his father's death in 44 A.D., Ant. 19,9,1.  
 (3). Ant. 18,5,4.  
 (4). Ant. 19,9,2; also 20,1,2.  
 (5). Ant. 19,9,2; B.J. 2,11,6.  
 (6). Ant. 20,1,1.  
 (7). Ant. 20,1,2.  
 (8). "In the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Caesar", Ant. 20,5,2. Claudius began to rule in January, 41.



dom was given to Agrippa II (1), evidently in the year 50 A.D. (2). With this kingdom he received also the care of the temple (3), which had previously been given to Herod of Chalcis (4). However, he seems to have stayed in Rome instead of going to his kingdom; for a bit later we find him again successfully taking the part of the Jews before Claudius after their quarrel with the Samaritans (5).

In 53 A.D. (6) Claudius removed Agrippa II from Chalcis to a larger kingdom: the tetrarchy of Philip with additions (Batanea, Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, Abilene, and Iturea). Soon after this Claudius died and was succeeded by Nero, who not only confirmed the grant of Claudius, but also added to it the cities of Taricheae, Abila, Tiberias, and Julias in Perea with fourteen neighboring cities (7).

Just when Agrippa moved from Rome to his kingdom is uncertain. Evidently he had been in Judea quite a while when Festus replaced Felix as procurator of those parts of the country not under Agrippa (8). Upon Festus' arrival we meet Agrippa in the Book of Acts. Paul had been imprisoned by Felix for two years (9); then Festus, not knowing

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(1). Ant. 20,5,2; B.J. 2,12,1.

(2). B.J. 2,14,4 calls the year 66 A.D. "the seventeenth of the reign of Agrippa"; hence his reign began in 50 A.D. In Ant. 20,7,1 the year 53 is called his fourth.

(3). Ant. 20,9,7.

(4). Ant. 20,1,3. Herod of Chalcis appointed two high priests: Joseph, Ant. 20,1,3; and Ananias, Ant. 20,5,2.

(5). B.J. 2,12,7.

(6). The thirteenth year of Claudius, Ant. 20,7,1; cf. also B.J. 2,12,8.

(7). Ant. 20,8,4; B.J. 2,13,2.

(8). Acts 25; Ant. 20,8,8.9. Festus came in 60 A.D.

(9). Acts 24,27.



what charge to lay against Paul when sending him to Caesar, asked for advice from Agrippa, who had come to Caesarea to pay his respects (1). Agrippa gave Paul a hearing, at which the apostle spoke so eloquently concerning his own conversion and belief that the king confessed: "Almost thou persuadedest me to be a Christian" (2). Privately Agrippa told Festus that he considered Paul innocent of the charges that the Jews had brought against him, and that only the appeal to Caesar prevented his release (3).

At about this time also Agrippa built a spacious dining room as an addition to the Asmonean palace which he occupied in Jerusalem (4). This room was built on an elevation overlooking the city, and from it one could look into the temple. The Jews did not like the fact that any guest of the king could watch the performance of their sacrifices; therefore they energetically erected a wall upon the inner courts of the temple which cut off the view not only from the palace, but also from the outer cloisters where the Romans kept a guard to preserve order during the festivals. Now the rulers became angry -- Agrippa because this act was directed against him, Festus because his guards could now no longer watch for sedition in the temple courts. The procurator ordered the wall torn down; but the Jews, who would not suffer the demolition of any part of their tem-

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(1). Acts 25, 13-27.

(2). Acts 26, 28. However, many commentators take these words as irony.

(3). Acts 26, 31, 32.

(4). Ant. 20, 8, 11.



ple, sent a delegation to Nero about the matter. Through the intercession of Poppea, the emperor's wife, the Jews were permitted to retain their wall.

Somewhat later, but still during Nero's reign (1), Agrippa began his building program. Caesarea-Philippi was enlarged and renamed Neronias (2). At Berytus in Phoenicia Agrippa constructed an expensive theatre where he introduced annual games; he also furnished that city much food, and adorned many buildings there with both ancient and new statues (3). In Jerusalem, when more than 18,000 workmen who had been employed on the temple were idle, the Jews petitioned Agrippa to rebuild the eastern cloisters of the outer court of the temple. Since these extended deep into the valley, the king rejected this plan as too expensive; but he did put the laborers to work paving Jerusalem with white stone (4). Also he made preparations to rebuild the additional twenty cubits on top of the temple which had fallen in the time of Herod the Great (5), by bringing long straight timbers to Jerusalem (6); however, during the war these timbers were used in the construction of war machines.

When the events occurred which were to lead to the war with Rome in 66 A.D. Agrippa was in Alexandria, whither he

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(1). Nero was emperor 54-68 A. D.

(2). Ant. 20,9,4.

(3). Ant. 20,9,4.

(4). Ant. 20,9,7. This is the last event concerning Agrippa recorded in Josephus' Antiquities of the Jews, which extended only till 66 A.D., "the twelfth year of the reign of Nero", Ant. 20,11,2.

(5). Ant. 15,11,3.

(6). B.J. 5,1,5.



had gone to congratulate Alexander upon the latter's accession to the rule (1). His favorite sister Bernice was in Jerusalem at the time to perform a vow, and tried vainly to restrain Florus from inciting the Jews to rebellion by his tyrannical actions. She also wrote to Cestius, president of Syria, so that he would not believe the false report of Florus that the Jews were rebelling against the Roman government (2). Cestius sent a tribune, Neapolitanus, to make a survey of the situation; he met Agrippa returning from Egypt, and the two of them investigated the uprisings (3). Both Agrippa and Neapolitanus saw that the Jews had been mistreated; but Agrippa would not admit this to them, lest they should desire vengeance. Instead he made a remarkable speech to the people, urging them not to provoke the Romans to war (4). This address, which Josephus probably took from the original document, is a masterpiece of logic, and is very moving. When it was finished both the king and his sister broke into tears before the people. The words did have some effect; for now the people collected forty talents tribute which they had failed to remit to Rome. But when Agrippa urged them to submit to Florus until a more lenient successor should be sent, they drove him out of the city, some of the mob even throwing stones at him (5).

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(1). B.J. 2,15,1.

(2). B.J. 2,16,1.

(3). B.J. 2,16,1.2.

(4). B.J. 2,16,4.

(5). B.J. 2,17,1.



During the war Agrippa firmly placed himself on the side of the Romans, although his primary concern was to establish peace. When violence first broke out, some of the anti-seditionists in Jerusalem sent ambassadors to Florus and to Agrippa, appealing to them to stop the slaughter (1). The king responded by sending three thousand horsemen. However, these troops were outnumbered; and after a seven-day battle, during which Agrippa's palace was burnt (2), were forced to retire. Then Agrippa went to confer with the president of Syria, leaving his kingdom in the hands of his procurator Noarus (3) or Varus (4). When Cestius thought it necessary to march into Judea, Agrippa furnished him three thousand footmen and a thousand horsemen, and accompanied the army as guide and adviser (5). Cestius had little success in quenching the rebellion; so Agrippa again tried mediation, offering the seditious the pardon of the Romans if they would lay down their arms (6); but the mob fell upon his ambassadors that brought the offer, killing one of them and wounding the other. Soon after this Cestius had to inform Nero that the war was beyond his control (7).

Since Agrippa sided with the Romans, he also had rebellion to contend with. His city of Tiberias was divided;

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- (1). B.J. 2, 17, 4.
  - (2). B.J. 2, 17, 6.
  - (3). B.J. 2, 18, 6.
  - (4). Vita 11.
  - (5). B.J. 2, 18, 9.
  - (6). B.J. 2, 19, 3.
  - (7). B.J. 2, 20, 1.



some of the citizens wished to remain loyal, while others were seditionists (1). Josephus, to whom the government of Galilee had been entrusted by the Jews, finally gained control there (2). Taricheae rebelled (3), as did also Gamala (4) and other parts of Gaulonitis (5).

When Vespasian arrived with an army at Antioch in Syria, Agrippa was there with his own army to meet the general (6). Together they marched to Tyre (7). There the inhabitants accused Agrippa of disloyalty to Rome, saying that his general Philip had betrayed the royal palace and Roman forces in Jerusalem to the seditionists (8). Vespasian rebuked the people for accusing Agrippa, but asked the king to send Philip to Nero.

At Ptolemais Vespasian was joined by his son Titus with another army, which with the auxiliaries furnished by local kings increased the Roman army to sixty thousand soldiers (9). With this force Vespasian proceeded to subdue sections of Galilee and Samaria, capturing Josephus at Jotapata (10). Then, at the request of Agrippa, he and his army moved to Caesarea-Philippi, where Agrippa entertained them for twenty days (11). In return for this favor

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- (1). Vita 9.32.68.70.
  - (2). Vita 33.34.
  - (3). Vita 19.
  - (4). Vita 11.24.36; B.J. 4,1,3.
  - (5). Vita 37.
  - (6). B.J. 3,2,4.
  - (7). Vita 74.
  - (8). Vita 74; cf. B.J. 2,17,4.
  - (9). B.J. 3,4,2.
  - (10). B. J. 3,8.
  - (11). B.J. 3,9,7.



Vespasian took his army against the cities which had revolted from Agrippa. Tiberias submitted to his forces and was pardoned (1); but Taricheae, which resisted, had its inhabitants killed or sold into slavery (2). Gamala in Gaulonitis had already withstood a seven-month siege by Agrippa's army; now Vespasian came to overthrow this fortress (3). In the course of the siege Agrippa was hit by a slinger's stone upon his right elbow (4). When the city was taken, its inhabitants were shown no mercy by the Romans.

When Nero died in 68 A.D., Vespasian sent his son Titus to the new emperor Galba to see whether the war against the Jews should be continued (5). Agrippa sailed with Titus, to pay his respects to the new emperor. However, while they were still on the journey they heard that Galba had been assassinated after little more than half a year of ruling. Titus then returned to Judea; but Agrippa went on to Rome to become acquainted with the next emperor. Otho and Vitellius each became emperor for a short time; but they were soon slain, and in 69 A.D. Vespasian became the ruler of the Roman empire; he left the Jewish war in the hands of his son Titus. At Bernice's request Agrippa then returned to Palestine (6).

Little is known of the rest of Agrippa's life. Na-

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- (1). B.J. 3, 9, 8.
  - (2). B.J. 3, 10, 10.
  - (3). B.J. 4, 1.
  - (4). B.J. 4, 1, 3.
  - (5). B.J. 4, 9, 2.
  - (6). Tacitus: Hist. 2, 81.



turally his friend Vespasian permitted him to remain king after the Jewish war, probably even enlarging his territory (1).

During his stay in Palestine Titus had fallen in love with Bernice. Accordingly, after his return to Rome, we find Agrippa and Bernice enjoying his favor in that city. Titus even promised to marry Bernice; but popular opinion forced him to send her away from Rome contrary to his own wishes (2). Later she once more returned to Rome, but was now unnoticed by Titus (3).

The only other reference to Agrippa that we have from his contemporaries is the fact that he read Josephus' history of the Jewish war, commented favorably upon it (4), and bought a copy of it (5). According to Justus of Tiberias (6) Agrippa died in the third year of Trajan, 100 A.D.

Agrippa II was one of the best of the Herods; we rank him next to Philip the tetrarch in character. That Josephus, who named one of his own sons "Agrippa" (7), held a high opinion of him is evident from the fact that

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(1). B.J. 7,5,2; Justus of Tiberias apud Photius Bibliotheca cod. 33: "He took the government under Claudius, had it augmented under Nero, and still more augmented by Vespasian. He died in the third year of Trajan". Cited from Whiston, p. 24 n. The Greek text is given by Schuerer, Div. I, vol. I, p. 68.

(2). Dio Cassius 66,15; Suetonius: Titus 7.

(3). Dio Cassius 66,18.

(4). Vita 65.

(5). Contra Apionem 1,7.

(6). Apud Photius, l.c. supra, n. (1).

(7). Vita 1.



that historian calls him "a person that deserved the greatest admiration" (1). Elsewhere Josephus says that "flattery was not agreeable to him", and "he was entirely a stranger to such an evil disposition of mind" as would prompt irony (2). One might accuse Josephus of prejudice here; for both of these opinions are given in connection with Agrippa's endorsement of Josephus' books. The facts known about Agrippa, however, bear out much of Josephus' opinion.

The irrepressible Herodian love of building showed itself in Agrippa by the enlarging of Caesarea Philippi, and by the erection of a theatre at Berytus "with vast expenses" (3). The paving of Jerusalem accomplished under him was done at the request of the Jews (4).

Another characteristic more or less typical of the Herods which showed itself in the life of Agrippa II was sexual looseness. He was generally regarded by the Jews of being guilty of incest with Bernice (5), the favorite sister who lived with him. Even in Rome this report spread (6). Although the truth of this rumor cannot be definitely established -- Josephus is careful to say that it was a "report", without confirming it --, nevertheless the divorces of Agrippa's sisters point to laxity in the

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- (1). Contra Apionem 1,9.
  - (2). Vita 65.
  - (3). Ant. 20,9,4.
  - (4). Ant. 20,9,7.
  - (5). Ant. 20,7,3.
  - (6). Juvenal, Sat. 6, 156-160; quoted in Schuerer, Div. I, vol. II, p. 196 n.9.



family. Drusilla was first married to Azizus, king of Emesa (1); later she divorced him to marry Felix (2). This explains why, when brought before Felix and Drusilla, Paul "reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come"; and why Felix trembled and answered: "Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season I will call for thee" (3). Another sister of Agrippa, Mariamne, divorced her first husband named Archelaus to marry the noble and wealthy alabarch of Alexandria, Demetrius (4). The third sister Bernice was first married to her uncle, Herod of Chalcis. After his death she married Polemo, king of Cilicia; but she later divorced him "as was said, with impure intentions" (5). Then after living with Agrippa for a long while, she almost succeeded in getting Titus as a husband (6).

In his attitude toward the Jewish religion Agrippa may have been sincere, despite the breaches of the law which he committed. It is true that he erected images in the Gentile city of Berytus, contrary to Jewish law (7). He granted to the Levites permission to wear linen garments like those of the priests -- an act which even Josephus condemns (8). He permitted aliens to gaze into the temple, thereby provoking the Jews to erect the wall

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- (1). Ant. 20, 7, 1.
  - (2). Ant. 20, 7, 2.
  - (3). Acts 25, 24. 25.
  - (4). Ant. 20, 7, 3.
  - (5). Ant. 20, 7, 3.
  - (6). Suetonius: Titus 7.
  - (7). Ant. 20, 9, 4.
  - (8). Ant. 20, 9, 6.



between his palace and their sacrifices (1). Often he shifted high priests (2). Nevertheless he required circumcision of Azizus and of Polemo before permitting them to marry his sisters (3); his sister Bernice went to the temple to perform a vow, even shaving her head to comply with the requirements of Jewish ceremony (4); he prepared timbers for repairing the temple (5); and above all -- which leads us to believe that these acts were done not entirely from ignoble motives -- Paul says to Agrippa (6): "Believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest".

In general Agrippa had the interests of the Jewish people at heart. When Claudius had his Judean procurator Fadus place the high priest's garments under Roman care, it was the request of Agrippa that led to the restoration of these garments to the Jews (7). When a quarrel arising from Galileans passing through Samaria on their way to Jerusalem led to bloodshed, the Jews would have been punished as the authors of this trouble if Agrippa had not taken their side against the Samaritans (8). Agrippa

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(1). Ant. 20,8,11.

(2). Agrippa II appointed six high priests: Ismael, Ant. 20,8,8; Joseph (Cabi), Ant. 20,8,11; Ananus, Ant. 20,9,1; Jesus, son of Damneus, Ant. 20,9,1; Jesus, son of Gamaliel, Ant. 20,9,4; Matthias, Ant. 20,9,7. Altogether there were twenty-eight high priests in the period of the Herods, Ant. 20,10,1.

(3). Ant. 20,7,1.3.

(4). B.J. 2,15,1.

(5). B.J. 5,1,5.

(6). Acts 26,28.

(7). Ant. 20,1,1.2; B.J. 2,12,7.

(8). Ant. 20,6,3.



also sided with the Jews against Florus during the events which led to the Jewish war (1). Bernice tried to avert the war by standing barefoot before Florus' tribunal (2) -- Bernice, who so loved pomp (3). Then she wrote to the president of Syria about Florus' illegal practices (4). Agrippa made his touching plea to the multitude to prevent their rebellion (5). When revolt began in spite of these efforts, he sent troops to quell it before it should spread (6). Even when Jerusalem was being besieged by Cestius, Agrippa sent envoys to the seditionists, offering to be their mediator with Rome if they would desist fighting (7). But when all these attempts had failed, Agrippa cast his lot with the powerful Romans. He furnished soldiers for Cestius, and even served as their guide in Judea (8). He met Vespasian when Nero sent this general, and added his troops to the Roman army (9). He entertained Vespasian and his army at Caesarea Philippi (10), to keep in the good graces of the Romans; and for this same reason he went to Rome when a new emperor replaced Claudius (11). After the war was over he still fawned upon the Romans (12).

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- (1). B.J. 2,16,2.
  - (2). B.J. 2,15,1.
  - (3). Acts 25,23.
  - (4). B.J. 2,16,1.
  - (5). B.J. 2,16,4.
  - (6). B.J. 2,17,4.
  - (7). B.J. 2,19,3.
  - (8). B.J. 2,18,9.
  - (9). B.J. 3,2,4; 3,4,2.
  - (10). B.J. 3,9,7.
  - (11). B.J. 4,9,2.
  - (12). Suetonius: Titus 7; Dio Cassius 66,15.



Evidently Agrippa II was not as cruel as his forebears had been. His treatment of the prisoner Paul (1) strikes one as quite fair -- although Paul was not really under his jurisdiction, since he was merely called in to advise Festus. He was acquainted with Christianity (2), yet there is no record of him as a persecutor of the Christians (3). Josephus reports that Agrippa forgave two of his influential men who had deserted to the Jews in the war, but were sent back to the Romans (4); and that when Vespasian sentenced Justus of Tiberias to death, Agrippa secretly commuted the sentence to life imprisonment (5), and later made Justus his secretary.

Finally, it seems that Agrippa II was more learned and cultured than the other Herods. His speech to avert war (6) shows a marvelous knowledge of history. Josephus says that this king was "very well skilled in the learning of the Greeks" (7). Paul calls him "expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews" (8). His interest in learning is shown by the fact that he supplied Josephus with historical data and helped to sponsor the publication of Josephus' history of the Jewish war (9).

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(1). Acts 25 and 26.

(2). Acts 26, 26-28.

(3). However, the activities of the early Christians were mostly in Judea and Samaria, not in the northern countries over which Agrippa II ruled.

(4). Vita 31; cf. Vita 23.

(5). Vita 65; 74.

(6). B.J. 2, 16, 4.

(7). Vita 65.

(8). Acts 26, 3.

(9). Vita 65; Contra Apionem 1, 9.



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## Appendix A

## THE HERODIAN FAMILY

- I. Phasael
  - A. Phasael, married Salampsio (II,E)
    - 1. Antipater
    - 2. Herod
    - 3. Alexander
    - 4. Alexandra
    - 5. Cypros, married Agrippa I (II,C,2)
- II. Herod the Great
  - 1st wife: Doris (Idumean)
    - A. Antipater, married Mariamne (II,C,5)
  - 2nd wife: Mariamne (Asmonean)
    - B. Alexander
    - C. Aristobulus, married Bernice (V,B)
      - 1. Herod, king of Chalcis; married Bernice (II,C,2,c)
      - 2. Agrippa I, married Cypros (I,A,5)
        - a. Drusus
        - b. Agrippa II
        - c. Bernice, married Herod of Chalcis (II,C,1)
        - d. Mariamne
        - e. Drusilla
      - 3. Aristobulus
      - 4. Herodias, married Herod (II,G), then Antipas (II,I)
      - 5. Mariamne, married Antipater (II,A)
    - D. Herod
    - E. Salampsio, married Phasael (I,A)
    - F. Cypros, married Antipater (II,A)
  - 3rd wife: Mariamne the high priest's daughter
    - G. Herod, married Herodias (II,C,4)
  - 4th wife: Malthace the Samaritan
    - H. Archelaus
    - I. Antipas, married Arabian, then Herodias (II,C,4)
    - J. Olympias
  - 5th wife: Cleopatra of Jerusalem
    - K. Herod
    - L. Philip, married Salome (II,G,1)
  - 6th wife: Pallas
    - M. Phasael
  - 7th wife: Phedra
    - N. Roxana
  - 8th wife: Elpis
    - O. Salome
  - 9th wife: a brother's daughter
  - 10th wife: a sister's daughter
- III. Joseph
  - A. Joseph
- IV. Pheroras
- V. Salome
  - A. Joseph
  - B. Bernice, married Aristobulus (IIC)
  - C. Antipater, married Cypros (II,F)



## Appendix B

## RULERS AT THE TIME OF THE HERODS

Over Palestine

## Herodians

Herod the Great	37 - 4 B.C.
Archelaus	4 B.C. - 6 A.D.
Antipas	4 B.C. - 39 A.D.
Philip	4 B.C. - 34 A.D.
Agrippa I	37 - 44 A.D.
Agrippa II	50 - 100 A.D.

## Procurators

Coponius	6 - 9 A.D.
Marcus Ambivius	9 - 12 A.D.
Annius Rufus	12 - 15 A.D.
Valerius Gratus	15 - 26 A.D.
Pontius Pilate	26 - 36 A.D.
Marcellus	36 - 37 A.D.
Marullus	37 - 41 A.D.
Cuspius Fadus	44 - ? A.D.
Tiberius Alexander	? - 48 A.D.
Cumanus	48 - 52 A.D.
Felix	52 - 60 A.D.
Porcius Festus	60 - 62 A.D.
Albinus	62 - 64 A.D.
Gessius Florus	64 - 66 A.D.

Over the Roman Empire

Julius Caesar	48 - 44 B.C.
Antony	44 - 31 B.C.
Augustus (Octavian)	31 B.C. - 14 A.D.
Tiberius	14 - 37 A.D.
Caligula	37 - 41 A.D.
Claudius	41 - 54 A.D.
Nero	54 - 68 A.D.
Galba	
Otho	
Vitellius	
Vespasian	69 - 79 A.D.
Titus	79 - 81 A.D.
Domitian	81 - 96 A.D.
Nerva	96 - 98 A.D.
Trajan	98 - 117 A.D.